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ART. V.—*On the earliest Persian Biography of Poets, by Muhammad Aúfi, and on some other Works of the class called Tazkirat ul Shuárá.* By N. BLAND, Esq.

[Read 17th February, 1846.]

ON a former occasion, I had the honour of laying before the Society an account of one of the most modern and comprehensive Persian works on Poetical Biography. In examining the authorities to which it referred, and in comparing similar compilations, I was led to investigate the actual number of native sources accessible to us on that subject, and was gratified by finding they existed to a far greater extent, than would be presumed from the very limited proportion, in which they have hitherto been made use of, or described.

There results from the inquiry the following list of Biographies, specially devoted to the poets, without taking into account those historical or geographical works, in which literary memoirs or anecdotes are incidentally introduced, nor even dictionaries of learned or holy men, who have also been poets, but whose claims for insertion rest chiefly on other merits¹.

Lubáb ul Albáb.
Beháristán.
Tazkirahí Daulatsháhí.
Mejális ul Nefáís.
Tubfahí Sámf.
Maikhánah u Butkhánah.
Khulásat ul Asháár.
Majmá ul Fuzla.
Firdúsi Khayál.
Tazkirahí Takí Auhadí.
Tazkirahí Khúshgú.
Kaábahí Irfán.
Maásiri Rahímí.
Tazkirahí Názim Tabrizí.
Tazkirahí Bábá Sháh.
Tazkirahí Nasrábádí.
Mirát ul Khayál.
Latáíf ul Khayál.
Kelímát ul Shuárá.
Hemíshah Behár.
Hayát ul Shuárá.

Macálát ul Shuárá.
Tazkirahí Mulla Cátáf.
Subhi Sádíe.
Nefáís ul Maásir.
Yadí Bayzá.
Sefínahí Bikhábar.
Ríázat ul Shuárá.
Majmá ul Nefáís.
Tazkirahí Alí Hazín.
Servi Azád.
Intikhlábi Tazkirát.
Merdumi Dídah.
Khazánahí Aámirah.
Tazkirahí Bínazír.
Atesh Kedah.
Gulí Ráná.
Bayází Bâtíní.
Khulásat ul Afkár.
Khulásat ul Kelám.
Suhufi Ibrahim.
Makhzan ul Gharáíb.

¹ Such as the Hefz Aclím of Ahmed Rází, the Nafahát ul Uns, Gulzár ul Abrár, and Mejális ul Múminín, containing the lives of celebrated Sufis and Shíahs; and numerous Tarikhs, especially the Muntakhab ul Tawárikh, the Táríkhí Guzádah, Jehán Ará, Khulásat ul Tawárikh, &c.

Among so many names a few only are known to us; of which, the Beháristán is familiar from frequent reference and from selections published in the *Anthologia Persica*¹. The *Tazkirah* of Daulatshah is in general use, and with that of Sám Mirza is the subject of learned memoirs by M. de Sacy². The contents of Alishír's work have been illustrated by Baron Hammer-Purgstall³, and the *Atesh Kedah* was noticed in a paper read before this Society⁴.

Of the remaining portion, I have thought that a distinct enumeration of the proper title of each work, of its division and contents, some account of the author, and a reference to the authorities from which he had borrowed his materials, might not be uninteresting to those Orientalists who pursue the same path of research.

I regret, however, that the process can be applied only to a very limited number of the above *Tazkirahs*. Some of the works, it is to be feared, have long since been lost in the countries which gave them birth; destroyed in pillage, consumed by fire, or decayed by time; thus leaving us little more than the knowledge of their name. Many others, no doubt, remain still hidden in various public and private libraries of the East and West, whose treasures are as yet unexplored, or unpublished. From actual inspection, therefore, I am able to present particulars of the following twelve subjects only, which I propose to notice first, and afterwards to proceed to those, of which our knowledge is, at present, more circumscribed.

I.

لباب الالباب

The subject of the first of these sketches, as the earliest in date of those I have to notice, and the prototype of all similar compositions, is the *Lubáb ul Albáb'*, by Muhammad Aáfí; a work of such extreme

¹ The whole of the text, with an elegant German translation, has lately been edited at Vienna by Baron Schlechter-Wesshrd.

² *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi.*

³ *Handschriften Hammer-Purgstall's*, Wien. 1840. Article No. 240.

⁴ Account of the *Atesh Kedah*, &c. Vol. VII. of the *Journal*.

⁵ Several works, on various subjects, bear this title, or one similar.

An abridgement of the celebrated *Masnawi* is called *Lubbi Lubáb*, by Husain Wáiz Káshifí; also one of the *Diwans* of the poet Núáf (نوعي) is so named. The title, indeed, appears under such a variety of forms, even in reference to the work now under notice, and is susceptible of so many different meanings, according to altered pronunciation, that the translation is open to conjecture. In this instance it may perhaps be best rendered as the "Marrow, or Quintessence of Biography."

rarity, that I was until lately inclined to doubt of the existence of a copy. For the communication of this fact, and for the use of the manuscript itself, I am indebted to the kindness and liberality of a Member of the Bengal Asiatic Society, a gentleman deeply versed in oriental learning, who is the fortunate possessor of this scarce literary treasure¹.

Although the *Lubáb ul Albáb* may easily be proved to be the earliest work of its kind, and seems to have been much consulted by succeeding writers, their references to it are mostly vague and indistinct.

Hajji Khalfa mentions, under the head of *Tazkirahs*, that of "Mohammed al Haufi," (حوفي) which D'Herbelot has transformed into *Khanfi*, probably reading the Ha with a point above.

Táhir of Nasrábád, (No. IV. of these Notices,) mentions in his preface, "The *Lubb ul Albáb*, comprising the poems of kings and ancient poets, by Muhammad Aúfi, author of the *Jámi' ul Hikáyát*."

In the *Khazánahí Aámirah*, a later Biography, (No. X.,) the following notice is given of it among the authorities quoted in the preface. "*Lubb ul Lubáb* by Muhammad Aúfi. I have had access to an imperfect copy, containing only half the work; from the life of Rúdakí, to that of Nizámí Ganjawí. It is written with great care and skill, and contains the lives of the poets from the beginning of the fourth century to the commencement of the seventh, which is the author's own time. All the modern Biographers, who have written the lives of the most ancient poets, have followed this author."

Accordingly, Al Aúfi is repeatedly quoted in Takí Auhadí's *Tazkirah* (No. III.), and, probably through this medium, in the *Riázat ul Shuárá* later (No. VII). Indeed, in the former, the *Lubáb* seems to form the groundwork of those sections which contain only the memoirs of the earlier authors, though the reference to it is always introduced simply by the words, "Muhammad Aúfi says."

In the *Atesh Kedah*, it is referred to also, as the "*Tazkirah* of Muhammad Aúfi."

It is mentioned in the *Suhufi Ibrahím*, a still more modern work, to be described among the present sketches. (No. XII.)

¹ John Bardoe Elliott, Esq., of the Sudder Court of Calcutta. This gentleman did me the honour of addressing to me some valuable observations on Persian poetry and its biographical literature, and in addition to much information connected with my present object, had the kindness to send over from India, for my use, from his own private collection, two of the most important works on the subject, with which I have yet been made acquainted, and of the mere existence of which I should have been uninformed, but for his kind assistance.

Further than these, I find no reference to this Tazkirah, and from the notices already cited, it appears that a perfect copy was not always accessible.

The short time I have as yet had the use of Mr. Elliott's MS. allows me to add but little to the account of it I had previously received from him; I therefore cannot do better than subjoin it in his own words, with such additional observations as I am at present able to supply.

"The manuscript is a common sized octavo volume, of 609 pages, written in a fair legible hand, and is perfect at the commencement and conclusion, but wants leaves in one or two places, the number of which cannot be ascertained without comparison with another copy. It contains twelve chapters, the first four of which are employed in discussing the meaning and excellence of poetry; who was the first poet, and who the first writer of Persian poetry.

Chapter V, is occupied with the poetry of kings and chiefs.

Chapter VI, contains the poetry of vizirs, &c.

Chapter VII, the poetry of the religious and learned orders.

Chapter VIII, the poets who flourished under the dynasties of Tahir, Leis, and Saman.

Chapter IX, those who flourished during the rule of the family of Sabaktagin.

Chapter X, those during the rule of the Seljuks, to the end of the reign of Sultan Sâid.

Chapter XI, those of the present age, who have flourished since the reign of Sultan Sanjar.

Chapter XII, appears to contain the poetry of the Court poets of the day, but the name of the ruler does not appear.

It is difficult to determine the exact date of this Tazkirah, but as the compiler mentions his visiting different cities, and meeting certain poets during the last twenty-five years of the sixth century of the Hijrah, and as late as 600, while there is no allusion to the invasion of Jengiz Khan, I conclude that it must have been completed previous to that event, during the rule of the Kharizmian dynasty over Khorasan and Turkistan. The biographical notices are of comparatively little value, but the merit of the work consists in its having preserved some hundreds of beautiful Casidals, Ghazals, and other poetry no where else to be found in an entire state, and without curtailment."

Without being able, at present, to add any thing to the above surmise as to the age of Al Aûfi, and in the absence of more exact data, his Tazkirah is clearly three hundred years anterior to the earliest biography of poets, with which we were previously acquainted;

the two composed at the Court of Sultan Husain Baicara bearing the date of 892. Al Aúfi, in his preface, states distinctly, that no work on the subject had been used by him, for, although he mentions several Tazkirahs, or *Tabacát*, as he calls them, on the Arabic Poets, as those of Ibn Selám, Ibn Cutaibah, Ibn ul Mughanni, Saâlabi's *Yetimat ul Dahr*, the *Dumiat ul Casr*, and the *Zínat ul Zemán*; yet "of Tazkirahs of Persian Poets, or collected extracts from their works, he had seen none!". Even on this evidence alone, then, we are justified in assigning to the *Lubáb ul Albáb* the first place among the Persian Tazkirahs, and a very high degree of interest both from its antiquity and rarity. Al Aúfi stands forth as the father of his country's literary biography, to whom we are equally indebted also for the researches of all those who followed him in the district of literature, in which he had first made an entrance, and prepared a path.

With respect to the *Jámi' ul Hikáyát*, attributed by Táhir's Tazkirah to the author of the *Lubáb ul Albáb*, a very slight inquiry is sufficient to destroy the identity of the writer. The *Jámi' ul Hikáyát*, a collection of amusing tales, arranged in rather an arbitrary and irregular manner, was originally written² by Muhammad ul Aúfi, for Shamsuddín Nizám ul Mulk, the celebrated vizir of Melekshah the Seljúk. Now Nizamulmulk died in the year 485³. Various dates in the *Lubáb ul Albáb* bring the period at which it was composed, down to the commencement of the seventh century of the Hijrah, the latest event noted being in the year 600 A.H., in which the author mentions his meeting with the poet Majduddín Muhammad Páyzi, at Nisá, in Khorasan, a hundred and twenty-five years after the death of Nizám ul Mulk, to whom the *Jámi' ul Hikáyát* was dedicated. Aubadi, whose Tazkirah will be noticed later (No. III.), gives the life of a Cázi Abúl Táhir Yahya bin Táhir bin Othman Al Aúfi, whom he calls "grandfather of Muhammad ul Aúfi, author of the *Biography of Poets*, called *Lubb ul Albáb*, and of the *Jámi' ul Hikáyát*." Unfortunately, no particulars given in that memoir throw any additional light on the subject of our inquiry. I think it is probable, the coincidence of the name caused the mistake in some early writer, and that the error has been perpetuated by adoption into other works without inquiry into the correctness of the statement.

در طبقات شعراي عجم هيچ تاليف مشاهده نيغتاده است
و هيچ مجموعه در نظر نيامده

² Hammer-Purgstall's Handschriften, No. 174.

³ Assassinated by the emissaries of Hasan Sabah.

The preface of the *Lubāb ul Albāb* occupies nine pages, in which, after a very short exordium in praise of the Deity for conferring on mankind the gift of speech and eloquence, the author, naming himself Muhammad Aūfi¹, commences by a description of spring, the season in which he began his book, and by an allegorical dialogue between the rose and bulbul of the garden introduces the eulogy of his patron, the Vizir Aīn ul Mulk; on whose name, or rather honorific title, the fourth page commences an elaborate disquisition, according to the different significations of Aīn, as Eye, Fountain, and Balance². First, as the discerning *eye* of the state, and to his friends, dearer than the apple of the *eye*: then, as the *fountain* of life, the source of prosperity, "to which the pilgrims of the path of darkness wend their way, as to the stream of Selsibīl;" "may this pure *fountain* be for ever preserved from the evil *eye*, and the equal balance of his prosperity be guarded from the revolving *eye*³ of depression!" In this last signification as balance, abundant scope is afforded for the ingenuity of the author, from its association with the duties of a judge, and its conversion (مقلوب) into the word Wizárat⁴, (Vizirship,) to indulge in praise of his patron's justice and impartiality. The application is thoroughly exhausted in this fanciful disquisition, which occupies two whole pages, and which terminates with a lengthened prayer for the prosperity of that exalted minister.

In page 7 of the Preface, a *Fasl*, or chapter, is introduced on the division of human speech into verse and prose, which is compared to the division of the earth into land and water at the time of Creation, and the resemblance supported by various ingenious arguments and allusions. "Verse may be compared to the sea (Bahr,) for whatever is not in Bahr (measure), is not verse. In this sea are buried treasures of pearl, and gems of mystic meaning, and the keys of this treasure are given into the hand of poetry, according to the Prophet's saying:—'And the keys of the treasure are the tongues of the poets⁵.'

¹ In the MS. محمد عوفی possibly for Muhammad, the son of Muhammad, or perhaps only an accidental repetition, of which there are similar instances in the copy. Later in the preface it occurs Muhammad Aūfi only.

² ترازو — چشمه — چشم of all which Persian interpretations the Arabic word عین is susceptible.

³ The eye of the balance.

⁴ وزارت by the figure Maclúb (Anagram) makes ترازو

⁵ إِنَّ لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى خَزَائِنَ تَحْتَ الْعَرْشِ مَفَاتِحُهَا السَّنَةُ الشُّعْرَا

And although travel by sea is the source of many advantages, yet the dread of its dangers deters the wise from participating in those benefits, and in like manner the Prophet has eschewed the pursuit of verse."

This chapter is continued by an allusion to the Seven Muállacahs, whose glory was annihilated by the descent of the Seven Sacred Verses¹, and expatiates on the inferiority of human composition to the inspired beauties of the Corán.

The preface now concludes with the desire of Muhammad Aúfi to offer to his illustrious patron the results of his art and experience, "a gift, which he prays may, till the day of judgment, be untouched by the hand of calamity, and guarded from misfortune and decay." He calls his book a *Compilation on the classes of Persian Poets*, and a *Collection of unpublished beauties of the learned men of all ages*; and names it *Lubáb ul Albáb*², dividing its contents into twelve chapters. The heads of these chapters have already been given from a *Fihrist*, which has a place in this part of the preface; but it may, perhaps, be interesting to describe their subject somewhat more in detail.

Immediately following this *Fihrist*, there is a short *Pasl*, which may properly be considered a concluding part of the preface. The author speaks of the deficiency of works on the present subject, and enumerates the Arabic Biographies of Poets, to which I have already alluded. He concludes with a hope, that by the assistance and countenance of the Vizir, his work may be favourably received among the learned of the age, and again prays for his patron's welfare and prosperity.

Chapter I. "On the Excellence of Poetry and the Poetic Art," begins at the bottom of page 11, and occupies five pages. The commencement abounds in conceits similar to those already quoted. Thus, "Speech is the Fountain of Life, whose purity flows through the darkness of ink, and from which the Khizr of prose and verse obtains immortality³." The merits and demerits of poetry are then canvassed,

¹ سبعة المثاني The seven verses of the Fátihah, or first chapter of the Coran.

² This appears to be the proper title of the book, being the one the author himself gives in the only places, in which he mentions it by name. It is variously quoted in the *Tazkirahs*, as already seen.

³ Another allusion to the fabled fountain of the waters of immortality in the land of darkness, and to Khizr, their guardian: possibly even the allusion to Khizr here has reference to the blue and green colours with which eastern manuscripts are ornamented; Khizr being clothed in green, as the herald of spring and verdure. Thus Ahli says, in the *Sihri Halál*,

an anecdote being related of a discussion among learned men in the society of Sâhib Ibâd¹, in which the cause of poetry was ably defended by Abu Muhammad Khâzin², whose declaration of the superior advantages he derived from the knowledge and practice of poetry, over his other studies of philology, divinity and traditional learning, decided the assembly in favour of the poetic art. The remainder of the chapter is illustrated by the many sayings of Muhammad (the Prophet) on the subject, and by quotations of Arabic and Persian verse from Abu Shorîf Ahmed Jorjânî, and Abu Sâid Mansûr bin Aâsami. Finally, it reverts to the praise of Aîn ul Mulk, to whom a whole page of adulation in prose and verse closes the chapter.

The 2nd and 3rd Chapters occupy only two pages each; the former, in explanation of the meaning of the word Shîr, (verse,) affords nothing remarkable, and terminates also with the praise of the patron Vizir. Chapter III در معنی اول کسی که شعر گفت ascribes the first composition of verse to Adam, and relates the circumstances of the tradition at length, combating the arguments against its authenticity. The 4th Chapter proceeds to the inquiry, who first composed Persian verse, and attributes it, as usual, to King Behram Gûr, giving various specimens, and very briefly tracing the progress of the art through the dynasties of Tahir and Leis to the author's own time, the chapter occupying somewhat more than three pages. Having thus established the composition of poetry to have been first practised by royalty, Aûfi devotes a section of his book to the poems of sultans and princes; which therefore forms the subject of Chapter V. He commences with the Samanian dynasty, being, he says, the earliest of those princes who composed in verse. "They were nine in number, under whose reign, during eighty-seven years and six months", the provinces of Khorasan and Mawarannah were well peopled, flourishing, and happy." He gives also the well-known memorial lines on their names, attributed to Ansari. The only one of them, however, who was himself a poet, he states to have been Ismail bin Nûh bin Mansûr, the last of the race. A slight sketch of his history, and a short specimen of his poetic talent, are followed by the memoir of the celebrated Yemînuddaulah Mahmud, Sultan of Ghizni, and of his son, Abu Muhammad. Of the remaining twenty names of

¹ Sâhib Ismâîl Ibn Ibâd, a Vizir under the Samanian dynasty.

² ابو محمد خازن که مقالید خزاین هنر در قبضهء بیان او بود

³ This differs from the account given in the Khulâsat ul Akhbâr, and some other histories, but the duration of the dynasty is variously stated.

kings, princes, and emirs, contained in this chapter, we find few which are not familiar to us as royal poets in other Tazkirahs, where a chapter has been consecrated to their memory. Cábús bin Washmgír and his son Kai Kaus are followed by Sultan Atsiz and many well-known names of princes, chiefly of the Khárizmsháhi and Seljúki race; Jelaluddin Sulaimanshah, nephew of Melekshah; Tekesh bin Arslan; Toghrul; Toghanshah; Kilij Arslan, &c. The chapter contains about forty pages, and ends with a prayer for the author's patron, Aín ul Mulk, which he has already taken an opportunity of introducing in one of the earlier memoirs of this chapter, when, in relating the death of the Emir Abul Muzaffar, (which took place A.H. 377,) he seems to have wished to avert the omen by pious supplication for his patron's health.

The Vizirs of the Sixth Chapter commence with those of the time of Mahmud bin Sabaktagin, and the first mentioned is Abul Kism bin al Husain. The celebrated Nizam ul Mulk and his son Abu Bekr follow. The Vizirs are succeeded by Kátibs and officers of state of inferior rank, and about thirty-six memoirs, some of them containing interesting historical particulars, are closed by that of Mejluddin Rashíd Azízi, one of the learned men of Khorasan in the time of Sultan Mádúd, and employed at Isferár in the service of the Emir and Vizir Alá ul Mulk. At the conclusion of the history of this age of distinguished statesmen, Aúfi, as may be expected, does not lose the opportunity of paying an appropriate compliment to the great man, to whom his labours are dedicated, and declares that "the race of illustrious and virtuous Emirs and Viceroy's and Judges has passed away, leaving none worthy of their fame and name, save only that 'second Asaf'; Vizir Aín ul Mulk, compared with whose wisdom the whole sum of the ministers and judges of the realms of Persia, when placed in the scale (again alluding to the interpretation of his name), is found deficient in weight."

The memoirs of the Judges (Chapter VII.) are arranged according to their birth-place or residence in the provinces of Mawarannahr, Khorasan, Irac, and Ghizni and Lahor. Those of Khorasan are further divided into the cities of Balkh, Merv, and Nishapur, although many other towns of the same district have a place in each of these divisions. Nishapur presents the most numerous list, about thirty names. Among the poets of Merv is a relation of the Biographer, the same quoted in Auhadi's Tazkirah; the Cazi Abu Táhir Yahya, al Aúfi. The Judges, Cazis, Mullas, Imams, &c., of the Seventh Chapter

¹ Asaf, the vizir of Solomon, and the pattern for ministers in all succeeding ages.

amount in all to fifty-five, noticed in 110 pages of the manuscript. This completes the first half, *نصف اول* of the work, and thanks are returned, that by the favour of the Deity and the Prophet, and under the patronage of the Vizir, the first part of the *Lubáb ul Albáb* is happily concluded.

Chapter VIII has only twenty-five pages for nearly as many poets of the reigns of the Tahir, Leis, and Saman families. Dakíki of Tus¹, one of the most ancient poets, has a place in this chapter, though described in all biographies as attached to the Court of Ghizni. His appearance here, therefore, may be supposed to be from his birth-place being within the dominions of the princes of the above race. Extracts are given from various of his *Casidáhs*, which are the more valuable, as mere fragments only have as yet been obtained from other works, and even his name is omitted in Daulatsháh's *Tazkirah*, though mentioned in the *Beháristán*.

The memoir of Rúdaki, the father of the Persian poets, forms an interesting portion of this chapter, and contains many particulars of his history, in addition to those, of which we are already in possession. He is here distinctly stated to have been blind², a circumstance which seems to have escaped observation, and which, indeed, I do not find related in any of the other *Tazkirahs*, although Rúdaki's life is given in all those which embrace the biography of his period. The *Beharistan* alone alludes to it, but so slightly as scarcely to have been remarked³. Notwithstanding his privation, being blind from birth, the poet's mental faculties were such, that at the age of eight years he learned the whole *Coran* by heart, and acquired the *Caraát*, or manner of reading it, which latter accomplishment, under the circumstances, may be considered perhaps even still more remarkable than the stretch of memory, which enabled him to be a *Háfiz ul Qurán*. The testimony of various poets of his time is quoted in praise of the excel-

¹ شعر دقیقی از کارِ دِق و تارِ دِق دقیق‌تر است

This is only an accidental specimen of the play on words with which the memoirs are usually introduced throughout the work.

² بصر نداشت اما بصیرت داشت مکغوفی بود اسرار لطایف
بروی مکشوف محجوبی بود انر غایت لطف طبع محبوب چشم
ظاهر بسته داشت اما چشم باطن کشاده انر مادر نا بینا آمده
&c.

³ The *Beharistan* merely says, انر مادر نا بینا نراد which, with many of the other particulars, agrees so literally with the words of the *Lubáb*, that *Al Afi's Tazkirah* must have been used by Jami for this part of his work.

lence of his poetry, in which his compositions are said, on the authority of Rashîdî, to have formed the contents of a hundred volumes, thus rivalling his wealth in worldly goods, which, we are told, were the travelling load of a thousand camels. Al Aufi's opinion seems decidedly in favour of the derivation of the name of Rûdaki from Rûdak, a village of Samarcand, his birthplace, and not from his musical talent, and instead of the ode and well-known anecdote in his biography by Jami and Daulatshah, of the Timotheus-like influence of his poetry on his patron king, some specimens are given here which, though not numerous, offer a pleasing variety to those of his composition which have already appeared. The whole memoir, one of the most elegantly written in the work, derives peculiar interest from thus assigning to the Blind Bard of Persia, the Sage, the Minstrel, and the Poet, an undisputed rank as the Homer, the Ossian, and the Milton of the East; a rank, to which he would otherwise be entitled both by the antiquity and extent of his poems, and the unrivalled superiority which has been accorded them by succeeding generations.

Chapter IX, در ذکر شعراء آل ناصر و این طبقه اولند

"I will now," says the biographer, "mention the poets of the Nâsirî Kings, from the beginning of the reign of Yeminuddaulah (Mahmud) to the end of that of Masaud Shahîd, being three sovereigns, and the duration of their rule, forty-seven years." He gives a slight sketch of the history of the dynasty from the foundation of its power by Sabaktagin, to the death of Masaud in the year 431; "after his reign," he says, "the greater part of Khorasan fell into the power of the Seljukian princes, to the poets of whose time I shall devote the Tenth Chapter, commencing the present one with Ansari, as the master and prince of poets, and the most ancient of this class." The memoir of Ansari is followed by that of Firdusi, which is one of the shortest in the book, and omits all historical account of him, probably as being already sufficiently well known, and confines itself to the praise of his great work, the Shah Nameh. As a specimen of his poetry are given four lines in praise of Mahmud¹, contrary to the

¹ در مدح سلطان بهی الدولة محمود قدس الله روحه

دو چیز بر تو بی خطر ببنم
 کانرا خطرست نزد هر مهتر
 دینار چو بر نهی بسر بر تاج
 در معرکه جان چو بر نهی مغر

usual extracts from the celebrated satire; also a short fragment without title, which, as I have not found them in other Tazkirahs, I have quoted below¹. Firdusi's other compositions in verse are stated by Al Aúfi, to have been but few, and no mention is made of the Yusuf and Zulaikha which bears his name.

The Memoirs of Ansari and Firdusi are followed by those of Asjadi, Ghazairi, and Asadi, their contemporaries at the Court of the Ghaznawide, and by those of many other ancient poets, of whom later biographers have not made mention. Five of the most brilliant names of that period follow one another in this chapter in immediate succession; those of Muizzi of Nishapur, Azraki, Abul Wási called Jabali, Hakím Jauhari of Herat, Adíb Sábir, and Anwari. Of Azraki and Muizzi are given perhaps the longest extracts in the whole collection, extending through ten and twelve pages. Next to these, the extracts of the poet Rúhi (روحی) are the longest, exhibiting whole Casidahs, on various subjects. This chapter is also divided under geographical heads, of which the poets already mentioned, with others of the province of Khorasan, altogether nearly forty names, compose the first Fasl. Mawarannahr, Irac, and Ghazni, comprising also Lahor, are the other divisions. Of these, there are six poets of Mawarannahr, nine of Irac, and fourteen of the mountainous districts; in all, sixty-three memoirs, occupying, with their extracts, about 170 pages. This may be considered the most interesting portion of Al Aúfi's Tazkirah, as containing some of the

وله¹

بسی رنج دیدم بسی گفته خواندم
 ز گفتار تازی و از پهلوانی
 بچندین هنر شست و دو سال بودم
 که توشه برم ز اشکار و نهانی
 بجز حسرت و جز وبال گناهان
 ندارم کنون از جوانی نشانی
 بیاد جوانی کنون مویه دارم
 برای بخت بو طاهر خسروانی
 جوانی من از کودکی یاک دارم
 دریغا جوانی دریغا جوانی

greatest names in Persian Poetry, and enabling us, on comparison with other authors, to ascertain from whence these latter derive their materials. The notices of Amac of Bokhara, and Súzani of Samarcand, among the poets of Mawarannahr, are accompanied by extracts, which are highly valuable from the loss of their diwans. The names which follow, are mostly so well known to us, either in biography or from their works, that the very brief notice of them, which in this sketch would be confined almost to a bare enumeration, would be without interest, or utility. The most celebrated are Hakím Catrán, Khacáni, Asír of Akhsíkat, Abul Farah, and Masáúdi Saád Selmán.

Chapter X appears to be omitted in the copy, or some confusion has occurred in the arrangement, which does not agree with the Table of Contents, for, page 504, immediately on the termination of Chapter IX, commences Chapter XI, "On the Poets of the present period," *i. e.* the author's own time. It is divided, as in Chapters VII and IX, according to provinces, containing sixteen poets of Khorasan, fifteen of Mawarannahr, six of Irac, and six of Ghizni and Lahor, and its contents fill ninety-five pages.

The most celebrated of these names are Feríduddin Attár, Rafí'uddín Lobnání, Abdurrazzáq of Isfahan, and Nizami of Ganjah. The memoirs in the whole work, exclusive, of course, of the lost chapter, may be upwards of two hundred and fifty.

The 12th Chapter is on the Poets of the Court¹, at which Al Aúfi, or his patron lived, and which he represents to be "thronged by wise and learned men, as thickly as the heavens are studded with stars, or a garden with blooming flowers." Having, however, acquaintance with but few of these poets, he limits the number of their memoirs to three, and of these even, the lacunes left by the copyist will not permit us an accurate knowledge. The name of the first is omitted, but the specimen given of his composition is a Casidah in the form called Sawál Jawáb², in praise of that "Sun of the heaven of rectitude," *i. e.* the Vizir, Aín ul Mulk.

The second memoir is of a certain scribe, one Muhammad of

¹ در ذكر لطايف اشعار صدور و افاضل كه بدین حضرت

مخصوصند و بدین دولت موسوم

² سوال و جواب A beauty of Persian rhetoric, by which the poet and his mistress or any other person are introduced in dialogue; the repetition of the "said I," and "said he," in a poem exceeding the length of a ghazal, becomes insupportable. In this specimen it is carried on through thirty-two couplets.

Balkh, whose calligraphic powers it represents as being beyond the reach of Ibn ul Bawwáb¹ himself, and that Ibn Muclah² would have been unable to restrain his eye from contemplating the beauties of his handwriting. It bestows equal praise on all his other acquirements, as well as on the suavity of his manners and his kind disposition, and sums up the excellence of his gifts, by his being admitted as one of the poets of the Court and panegyrist of the Sáhibkirán³. Zíá uddín Sanjari is the subject of the third and last memoir, which, however, is so imperfect in the MS. that no particulars can be obtained from it. There appears only a single Casidah of his composition, and this, as might be expected both from the vocation of the poet and the enthusiasm of his biographer, is again in praise of Aín ul Mulk.

The last two pages of the manuscript are the Khatam ul Kitáb, (Conclusion,) under which head we have a few words of apology from Al Aufrí for introducing a Casidah, "the offspring of his own weak imagination." This piece consists of thirty-three distichs, imperfect in two places to the extent of four or five lines together. It rhymes throughout in **ين** and the subject, it is almost superfluous to remark, is, for the twentieth time, the praise of Aín ul Mulk!

Who this Aín ul Mulk is, whose praises are repeated "*lectoris ad fastidium*" in every part of the volume, I am as yet unable to state, for however frequently mention is made of him by the author, there is nothing said either of the country which he adorned by his virtues, or of the prince whose councils he directed by his wisdom and advice. The name of the Vizir, divested of the overwhelming mass of honourable additions, which in the ambiguous phraseology of Eastern dedication might pass equally well as honorific titles, or as mere epithets qualifying their object, appears to be Husain, with the surname of Aín ul Mulk, son of Abu Bekr al Ashári, or perhaps at full length thus, Aín ul Mulk, Fakhr uddaulah wa uddín Abúl Mubárik Husain bin Sherf il Mulk Razí iddaulah wa iddín Abi Bekr il

¹ الاجل المحترم شمس الدولة و الدين سيد التجبا تاج
الفضلا معجز الاقدام (مفخر القدما) محمد الكاتب البلخي

² ابن مقله—ابن البواب Ibn Muclah and Ibn ul Bawwáb were two celebrated calligraphs; the former, the Vizir of the Khalif Muctadir, is said to have invented the Naskhi character, and the latter to have improved it.

³ The epithet Sáhibkirán here seems intended for the Vizir.

الاجل فخر الشعرا ضياء الدين السنجري

Ashâri¹. The history of this personage, whose various appellations, thus grouped together, are quite sufficient to point him out in a more extensive inquiry than I have at present the means of instituting, may enable us also to obtain some particulars of the life of Al Aûfi himself, which at present remains in as great obscurity as those of his patron, and of his prince. I have in vain searched for him, both as Muhammad and as Aûfi, in all the memoirs to which I have had access, and in which he would be entitled to a place as a poet; and a hasty perusal of the Tazkirahs of Auhadi and of Walih, both of which contain numerous references to his works, produced no additional information, nor any guide for assisting further search². The court poets Al Aûfi commemorates, are so few in number, their names so difficult to be recognized, and their memoirs so scanty, that even from that chapter we gain nothing. A minute and attentive examination of the section devoted to Contemporaneous Poets might indeed furnish some dates, and be supposed to fix the era more accurately; but the evidence would, at best, be little more than negative, as the year of these poets' death is but rarely marked³, and we should not, probably, be able to extend the period with any certainty beyond the date already recorded, viz., of the Hijrah 600 = A.D. 1202-3. After all, the information we seek for must be obtained from contemporaneous history, for the careful

¹ Among Baron Hammer-Purgstall's MSS., No. 80, is **لب الالباب** "Mark des Markes" (Marrow of Marrow), a collection of tales, anecdotes, &c., by "the Imam Abul Hasan Ahmed b. Ibrahim, Al Ashâari;" a coincidence in the surname, on which, of course, nothing is to be founded. **اشعري** is explained in Ibn Khallikan's life of Abul Hasan Ashâri (*qy.* the author just mentioned), to mean "descended from Ashâr, i.e., from "Nabt, surnamed *Ashâr*, or the *hairy*."—De Slane's Translation, Vol. II.

Al Makkari, the African historian of Spain, was also called Al Ashâri; on the derivation of which name, see "Notes to the Translation," &c., by Don P. de Gayangos, Vol. I.

With respect to Muhammad Aûfi's name, it must, of course, be supposed to refer to **جبل عون** in Syria, *v.* Abulfeda's Geogr.—Hajji Khalfa's *Haufi* would be a native, or inhabitant of the *Hauf* in Egypt, *v.* Relation de l'Egypte, par Abdallatif, &c.

² The copy I have used of Auhadi's Tazkirah being, as mentioned in the notice later, imperfect, I am unable to extend the search for Al Aûfi's life, which might possibly have been found under the letter M (Muhammad). The Riâzat does not give it under either letter, and it is possible that the use of an imperfect copy of his authority was also the reason of its omission.

³ No mention is made of the date or circumstances of Attâr's death, which took place in the general massacre by the Mongols; and Mr. Elliott's inference that the author of the Tazkirah wrote before, or did not survive, the invasion of Jingizkhan, is thus very materially supported.

examination the volume seems to have undergone before it was communicated to me, leaves little hope of obtaining from the work itself, unassisted by other research, the particulars of the life of its author, or of the patrons under whose protection he wrote and to whom he dedicated "The earliest Biography of Persian Poets."

In the absence of historical illustration of the work and its author, I may add some further description of the manuscript in which it is contained.

The MS. has no date, nor note by whom or where the transcript was made. Its appearance betokens some degree of age, and the leaves, which are of a fine silky texture of paper, have been carefully inlaid, preserving a few additions in the margin, and occasional corrections, which seem to be those of the first copyist. The writing is a bold and good Nasta'lic, and would bespeak an Eastern and not an Indian scribe. It seems to have been made from a very ancient copy, which had been in part illegible or damaged, as there are, especially towards the end, lacunes extending in some places to the half or more of five or six lines following. These defects do not appear before the last twenty leaves of the volume, which in all other respects (save also the few leaves occasionally wanting, as already mentioned, a few words destroyed by worm-holes, and slight damage from damp in the first two pages of the preface), is in beautiful condition. I regret not to have obtained from its present owner the information from whence the copy came, or any particulars concerning its previous history.

II.

خلاصة الاشعار و نريدة الافكار

After a lapse of nearly four centuries of the Hijrah, during which time appeared, almost contemporaneously, the Tazkirahs of Jami, Daulatshah, and Ali Shir, and, somewhat later, that of Sâm Mirza; we have a Biography of Poets, called *Khulâsat ul Ashââr*, or, familiarly, the Tazkirah of Mîr Takî Kâshi.

The copy described here is a manuscript in my own collection, and the only one* of which I have any knowledge¹. It is a small quarto containing 562 leaves, very closely written. An analysis of the author's preface will give the history of the composition of the work, and serve also as a specimen of his style.

After the praise of the Deity, that Beautiful One, that Merciful One, that All-loving and Beneficent One, and entreaty for the favour

¹ In Sir William Ouseley's Catalogue of MSS. No. 506, described "*Zubdet el Shaar*, an admirable work on Persian Poetry," is probably a copy of the same.

and protection of Al Cásim Muhammad bin Abdallah, (the Prophet), he proceeds to the "praise and supplication of the Padisháhi Islám, (the Emperor)," whom he styles "the Sultan of Sultans, the Khacan of Khacans, the shadow of God on earth, ruler of sea and land, the greatest of the Golden Meadows of the twelve Imams, the sincere servant of Ali bin Abi Tálib; the victorious King, the Sultan, the son of a Sultan, the son of a Sultan, Abú'l Fat'h Abú'l Nasr Abú'l Muzaffar Sháh Tahmásp Bahádúr Khán." The original of this inflated exordium occupies three full pages.

After which, the author, naming himself Takí uddín Muhammad bin Sherfuddín Ali al Husaini al Káshání, introduces himself to the "Jupiter-like lords of penetration and knowledge, and the Mercury-acting possessors of intelligence and discernment," and informs them, that he had long collected the poems of ancient and modern writers, and made careful extracts from each of their Diwans, and collected anecdotes of their love, and adorned his subject with narrative and tale. He then congratulates himself on the beauty of his composition, the poetry of which he compares (in verse) to the speech of the admired one to the admirer, and its prose to the plaintive accents of despairing love: "For, of a truth," says he, "without the slightest circumlocution or exaggeration, it is a Bostan (or Orchard), the balm of whose flowers perfumes the brain of the soul; and it is a Gulistan (or Rose-garden), the scent of whose blossoms exalts the spirit with its fragrance. The warblers of this Rose-garden are the parrots of the sugar-bowl of eloquence and improvisation; and the Turtledoves of this orchard are lofty flying birds from the nest of rhetoric and wit." His object was next to choose a patron, under the sanction of whose name his book might obtain immortality, or, in his own words, "last till the day of judgment." This laudable wish was accomplished in the beginning of the year 1006 of the Hijrah, when the copy of the work was finished, and the dedication made to "his Excellence, blessed with auspicious horoscope, endowed with justice, moderation, bravery, and dignity; that Adam in form, Noah in manners, Enoch in purity, Abraham in fidelity; of virtue like Joseph, a Solomon in magnificence; in loftiness Jemshid, in pomp Sekander; the accomplished Padishah, that benignant shower of justice, and compendium of generosity; Saturn of the sphere, Jupiter in station, Mars in valour; resembling the Sun in splendour, Venus in delightfulness, Mercury in energy, the Moon in loftiness; whose cavalry is thunder, and whose footsteps lightning; whose affluence is a dropping cloud, and whose beneficence a fertilizing rain; the great Sultan, the lord of the world, ruling the necks of the people, master of the Kings of

Arabia and Persia, monarch of the kingdoms of both Continents and both Seas, asylum of Sultans and Princes, friend of Islam and the Prophets, manifestator of the sublime word of God, and adorned with his gifts; Abûl Muzaffar Al Muayyad Ibrahim Aâdilshah'."

The conclusion is in verse, expressing his hope that the book may be "honoured by the inspection of his Highness and the courtiers and attendants of his circle, the empire of eloquence and rhetoric; so that, instead of remaining a worthless and unvalued atom in the depth of non-existence and obscurity, it may rise like the world-illuminating sun to the pinnacle of meridian ascension; and although now a star, hidden and veiled among the constellations, it may through favour become a full moon pointed at by the learned of the age."

Finally, in compliance with the practice of authors of all times, he chooses an auspicious name for his book, and calls it the "Cream of Poesies and Buttermilk of Conceits²," and divides it into an Introduction (*Mucaddamah*), four Preliminary Chapters (*Fasl*), four Sections or Books (*Rukn*, column), and a Conclusion (*Khatimah*).

The *Mucaddamah*, or Introduction, gives, as usual, the author's reasons for undertaking his present work; preceded by verses of Jami, Maulawi Rumi, and some of his own.

Four *Fasls*, or sections, follow, on the properties and attributes of Love. First, on the eternal and inherent quality of Love, as derived from the Creator. Second, in explanation of the real nature and excellence of Love, and in refutation of those who misapply the name to other passions. Third, Love distinguished as *Nefsânî* or *Rûhânî* (spiritual), and *Jismânî* (sensual); and on the seven qualities essential to the true lover, viz., secrecy, unity of object, single-mindedness, ardency of affection, jealousy, submission (to the will of the beloved), and unqualified admiration. Fourth *Fasl*, The characteristics of Love as exhibited in the beloved one; secrecy, chastity, retirement from the converse of men; modesty. This metaphysical disquisition is illustrated by numerous quotations from Arabic and Persian authors, extracts of Sufi poetry, and appropriate anecdote; and, although it would seem somewhat misplaced as an introduction to a biography, it is probably intended by the author to characterize his work, which he

¹ The Suhuf, in Taki's life, calls his patron, to whom he dedicates "Ibrahim Aâdilshah Bijâpûrî," V. Lit. Hindoui, &c., p. 238; that is, of Vizapur in India, which would suppose the author to have visited that country; but no such event is related by his biographer, nor does it appear from his own preface.

² *Khulâsat ul Ashkâr va Zubdat ul Afkâr*. It is often difficult to translate, at all literally, the titles of Eastern works, without producing something ludicrous in our idiom.

has already announced his intention of "embellishing with the loves of the poets," as well as with their worldly life and literary occupation. These four chapters occupy about thirty pages, and are succeeded by a Persian commentary of the compiler on an Arabic poem of Ali Ibn Ali Tálib, interpreted line for line, filling twenty-three pages. A Láhicah (خٲٲٲ), or additional remark, follows, in which Taki speaks of the division of speech into prose and verse; of the different kinds of verse (but without entering into any details of prosody), and of the difference of skill exhibited by poets in the various branches of the art; of some, whom he considers to have been masters in all; others, who excelled, severally, in Casidah, Ghazal, Mesnawi, and Kitáb. The glory of Mesnawi he assigns, with justice, to Firdusi and Nizami; but seems to show some undue partiality to his countryman, Muhtasham of Kashan, in giving him a place among those who were distinguished in *all* the various styles of writing.

The grand division of the biography is into four books (Ruku), of which the first book is again divided into two parts (Mujallad).

Ruku I. The ancient poets from the time of the dynasty of Sabaktagin, arranged according to the date of their death, with an account of their lives and loves, and extracts from their Diwans. The first Ruku contains fifty-four poets, and is divided into two Mujallads.

Mujallad I. Twenty-four poets, chiefly Casidah writers, who distinguished themselves in their time ("bore away the ball of poetic imagery from the hippodrome of eloquence"). The earliest is Ansari, and the latest, Cawámi of Ganjah¹. This chapter contains all the most celebrated names of ancient poets, Asadí, Násir Khusrú, Abúlfarah, Masúd Saad Selman, Azraki, Múizzi, Watwát, Feleki, and Khacáni; which, with the other memoirs, fill nearly a hundred pages. It closes with maxims and advice, occupying about six leaves.

Mujallad II. The remaining writers of Casidah, thirty; from Zahiruddin Faryábi to Afzal Káshi². This series includes Nizámi, Attár, Kemál of Isfahan, Jelaluddin Rámi, &c., 150 pages.

Ruku II. (which is also Mujallad III.) contains the older "Ghazal singers, and some also of their contemporaries who wrote Casidahs, more than forty poets (there are forty-four)." Saadi commences this series, in which it is difficult to see the propriety of the arrangement, as distinguished from the preceding. The last poet in the list is Shah

¹ The brother, or, as some say, cousin of Shaikh Nizami.

² Zahiruddin died A.H. 598, and Afzaluddin of Kashan, A.H. 666.

Shujā Kirmāni, of whom a very long and historically interesting memoir is given. This division of the work is prefaced by a dedication to Shah Abbas Safawi, who is here glorified in prose and verse, in a manner similar to the dedication of the first portion of the *Tazkirah*.

Rukn III. (Mujallad IV.) gives the more modern writers of Ghazal and Casidah; the first in the series is Hafiz, and the last Maulana Fenāi (d. 893); forty-eight poets. This book is prefaced by a chapter on the three Sufi classes of Wāsilan, Sālikan, and Mukīman¹, a subject fully explained in Jami's *Nafahāt ul Uns*.

Rukn IV. (Mujallad V.) "Poets of the time of Sultan Husain Mirza, being the period at which this work was composed. Above a hundred poets, *Sahib Diwan*." These commence with Jami and Ali Shir, and end with Ghazālī of Meshhed, who died 970.

I have given the contents of these five divisions according to the index furnished in the preface. The fourth Rukn (fifth Mujallad) is wanting in my manuscript, which otherwise is perfect, and the omission seems to have been made by the scribe, as the copy, without interruption, proceeds immediately to the *Khátimah*, which commences on the same page. I am inclined to think that the work, as originally published, formed five volumes, and that the copyist, in this case, had not access to a complete set."

The *Khatimah* is preceded by the usual forms, Praise of the Deity, of Muhammad, of Ali, of the Monarch of Islam, and *Munājāt*, or Prayers; then, after the eulogy of the blessings of speech, and the gift of eloquence and poetry, the author states his wish to add to the memoirs of the poets who lived before his time, an account also of his contemporaries. He divides them into twelve chapters (اصول) "the number of the signs of the Zodiac," according to the several cities or districts of which they were natives. Each *Asl*, or birth-place, is further arranged under two heads, (*Fasl*); contemporaries still living, or those of somewhat earlier date, and since dead. The twelve *Asls* are, "1. Kashan; 2. Isfahan; 3. Cúm; 4. Sáyah and

مقچان — سالكان — واصلان¹

¹ The only note of transcription in the MS. is at the end of the second Mujallad, "finished on Wednesday, 21st of Ramazan, 1038;" and of the fourth Mujallad, "finished Muharram, 1039" (= 1627 A.D.) I was at one time induced to suppose the MS. to be the author's original copy, which these dates would easily permit; but there is no note of its being his autograph, and the omission of one of the volumes would seem to imply it to be a transcript.

adjacent places; 5. Cazwin; especially noticing the most celebrated Princes, Sultans, and Vizirs, who lived there in the time of Shah Tahmasp; 6. The provinces of Gilan and Dar ul Marz; 7. Tabriz and other towns of Azarbaijan; 8. Kirman and parts adjacent; 9, 10, and 11, are not distinguished by rubric in the manuscript, but appear to be divided between the towns of Yezd, Shiraz, and Hamadan. Three more chapters under the title of *Lâhica*, supply the poets of Baghdad, Jerbadcan, and Khonsar, and further additions give those of Rey and Asterabad, besides the natives of many other towns and provinces; following an arrangement far from distinct, or in accordance with the heading of the several chapters.

The author, whose labours of compilation seemed destined to be unceasing, and whose zeal in commemorating his fellow poets could scarcely be restrained within the limits either of time or form of composition, again addresses himself to the "Jupiter-like and world-enlightening minds" of his readers, to inform them, that the acquisition of new materials since the completion of his work, and especially from such of his contemporaries as commenced writing since that period, and who now allowed him a sight of their Diwans, with permission to make extracts for his Tazkirah, had determined him to add a (second) Khatimah. Many copies of his book being already published, and circulated in Irac and Khorasan, he had no other means of adding to it, and, at the same time, of making corrections. His second Khatimah, then, contains the poetry, without memoir, of sixty authors, who had either been omitted in the earlier arrangement, or with whose history he was before unacquainted. They are in alphabetical order, according to the Takhallus, and fill about fifty pages. Takiuddin's own poetry appears among them, under the letter ز, Zikri being his poetic name¹.

Finally, a Zil, or sequel to the appendix, contains the author's reflections on his work, and his self-gratulation at the fulfilment of his task, after devoting his life to the subject of poetry and its history, and having now arrived at the fiftieth year of his age. He then gives a Quatrain, recording the date from the pen of that chronogrammatist

¹ ذكري Under the head of Zikri, in D'Herbelot, we find, "Takieddin Al-Hossaini, nom d'un auteur qui a écrit la Vie de cinq Poètes Persiens dont il a revu et publié les ouvrages. Ces cinq poètes sont Amak, Souzeni, Reschidi, Feleki, et Omadi." Possibly D'Herbelot, or the author he followed, had seen a fragment of Takieddin's work, containing only these five lives. They occur nearly together in the first Rukn of the Tazkirah, thus: *Amak*, *Senâi*, *Ilâhî*, *Muhtasham*, *Sûzanî*, *Abdurrazzâc*, *Hasan*, *Amâdî*, *Rashiduddîn* *Watwât*, *Feleki*.

Amir Rafiuddîn Muâmmâi¹. After this, however, Taki observes, that so many lives of ancient and modern authors were inserted in his Tazkirah, subsequently to its completion in its original form, and the book had become "so bulky and corpulent," the extracts amounting altogether to 350,000 couplets, that it was found necessary to add another volume, or Mujallad, to the five already arranged; and, at length, in 1016 of the Hijrah, exhausted with his long and laborious compilations, which had occupied him during thirty years, he resolved to "bar against himself the door of Tazkirah-writing and end his troubles of authorship, nor, from that day, insert in the archives of his Tazkirah another name or verse." Upon which he improvised the following Tarikh:

لانرم شده در یقین تصنیف
جلد ششمین برای ناظم
نیرا که اضافاست در وی
انر شعر اصاغر و اعظم
چون گشت تمام این مجلد
یکبار دگر بسعیء خادم
تاریخ نگارنر آن سبب گفت
شدست مجلدات لانرم²

¹ چون پنج کتاب تقی تذکره شبخ
در مخزن جلد جا گرفتند چو گنج
تا هر یکرا درست باشد تاریخ
بر پنج کتاب تقی افزودم بیخ

The words underlined give the date 988.

In the life of the poet Sâdiq, in the second Appendix, he says it was then the year 988, when he was engaged in completing his collection; yet at a much earlier stage of his work, the end of Mujallad II., he says, "Up to the present year, 1015," &c. Was this copy made, perhaps, from different editions of the separate parts? This would account for the discrepancy of dates, and be supported by the omission of a part already mentioned.

² This line, as it stands, does not agree with the date, but by omitting the first two letters, forming the word شد, the remainder would make exactly 1016. In the first line, I read شده for شد in the MS., and یقین for یقت

Mir Taki is named as an authority in the preface to the Tazkirah of Tahir, in the Khazánahí Aámirah, and the Khulásat ul Kelám. (No. XII.) He is also very frequently quoted in the Suhuf, and a short notice of his life is given in that work. The memoir, however, contains no additional information, being chiefly confined to the general characteristics of his book and the merits of his poetry. On the latter, indeed, the Suhuf does not bestow much praise, and observes, that neither his name nor specimens of his composition have found their way into later compilations.

The Khazanah mentions the work thus; "Khátimahí Khulásat ul Asháúr, the Tazkirah of Mir Takí Káshí, the date of the completion of which is 993." This seems to allude only to the Appendix, as being all that was accessible; probably an imperfect copy. However, the date is that of the earlier portion of the work, or perhaps the earlier edition.

Tahir merely gives the name, Mir Takí Káshí, as an author consulted. The Khulásat ul Kelam cites, in its Preface, the full title of the work.

Takí's Tazkirah is very important, both from its early date, and the care bestowed by the author on its arrangement. The memoirs also are frequently of some extent, and the critical observations full and interesting. Perhaps one of the most remarkable criticisms is where, on the occasion of his disputing an opinion of Daulatshah, as to the period at which two poets flourished, he calls that author's work "an erroneous, or faulty composition". The passage occurs in the life of Bedr Sháshí of Cazwin, in the 4th Book, and is important, as a proof of the care with which Taki examined his authorities, and also as a remarkable exception to the unqualified praise usually bestowed on Daulatshah. It is much to be regretted, that Taki has not followed the usual practice of enumerating in his preface the authors he

اما امير دولتشاه در كتاب سهويه كه موسومست بتذكرة
الشعرا آورده كه —

and adds,

اين سخن صاحب تذكرة هانا اصلى ندارد

A former proprietor of the MS. has endeavoured to vindicate Daulatshah from so general a censure by suggesting مشهورة as a reading for سهويه, but the writing of this copy is so distinct, and the absence of points so unusual, that there seems no doubt of the text; the epithet also, as it now stands, being more likely to be applied where the criticism which follows is unfavourable.

had consulted, as we should probably have met with the names of some of the ancient biographies, which would have been familiar to him at so early a period.

III.

عرفات و عرفات عاشقين
و عرصات و عرصات عارفين

The next work on biography is the *Tazkirah* of Takí Auhadí, and is a very large thick folio in the library of the East India House¹.

The author's name at length, as given in his preface, is Takí bin Mûinuddín bin Saâduddín Muhammad al Husainí al Auhadí al Daccákí al Balbání al Isfahání²; that is, of the Husainí branch of Sayyids, born at Balbán, and residing at Isfahan; the names Auhadí and Daccákí refer to his ancestors and family. He describes himself as descended by seven steps from the Shaikh ul Masháikh Ghaws ul Zemán, Shaikh Auhaduddin Abdullah bin Zíáiddín Masâúd al Fársí³ al Balbání, and through him from Shaikh Ibn Ali Daccákí⁴, in lineal descent from the Imam Musa Kázim.

The preface is of unusual length, occupying nearly thirty-six pages, of which about two-thirds are devoted to the author's life (کیفیت حال و ظهور احوال), his birth being on Charshambah (the day of the month is not given), in Muharram, 973 of the Hijrah, in the reign of Shah Tahmasp, the son of Ismail. The narrative then enters very circumstantially into the history of his family, and all the particulars of his education. His father died during his childhood, and he remained under the care of his mother, whom he also lost

¹ Biblioth. Leyden.

² To be distinguished from his predecessor Takí Káshí, whose work has just been described. Takí Káshí's poetic name was Zikri; Auhadí used his name, Takí, as his Takhallus. In his *Tazkirah*, he says,

گوهرم پاک و منتقی آمد

نام انر آسمان تنقی آمد

غوث الزمان شیخ اوحده الدین عبد الله بن ضیا الدین

مسعود الفارسی

⁴ It is a little difficult to fix this name from the MS., where it appears also sometimes to be Wnfíc, Wncác, Wacáf. The surname Dakák is found in some of the memoirs of Ibn Khalican.—De Slane's Translation.

when at the age of twelve years; after which the orphan was adopted by his preceptor, the Maulana Mírcáý, under whom, and with the instruction of other learned men, he pursued his various studies. These he commenced at the early age of five years, by "planting his footsteps in the wilderness of grammar, logic, jurisprudence, and geometry, and then passing on to the valley of divine and moral philosophy." He describes himself as having applied so diligently to all his studies, as to have been "quite free from the propensity to play and sport, which usually distracts the attention and engages the time of children." At the age of twenty (A.H. 995), we find him in the camp of Muhammad Khudabende, and subsequently presented to the young Abbas. Taki Auhadí's taste for poetry had been evinced at a very early age, but had been discouraged by his friends in favour of the more severe studies of science. In later life he indulged his poetic inclination by compiling an anthology, which he named *Firdûsi Khayâli Auhadí*, of which the value of the letters contains also the date¹. This was arranged at the suggestion of his friend Haidar Hamdání (حمدانی), who accompanied him on a journey to India, and it contained all the specimens of poetry he had collected in the six years between Shiraz and Guzarat. Afterwards, when staying at Agra, one of the nobles of Jehangir's court induced him to remodel his work, and to accompany the extracts with memoirs of the several authors quoted. Thus completed, he named his *Tazkirah*, "*Urfât u ghurfâtî âashikîn wa ârsât u ârzâtî âârifîn*." The biography is divided into twenty-eight *Arsahs* (عرصه) each containing one letter of the alphabet, and the general division is into three *Urfahs* (عرفه); viz., of the ancient poets; those of a middle age; and those more modern.

A memoir of Auhadí is given in the *Riâzat ul Shuârá* and also in the *Suhuf*, to both of which, as well as to the *Khazanah*, this work has lent its assistance as an authority. The *Suhuf* adds some particulars to those we obtain from the autobiography; viz., that he was the son of Sayyid Abdullah, and was called Auhadí because descended from that learned man of his time, Shaikh Auhad Daccâc; that he was attached to the court of Shah Abbas, and in the year 1050, in the reign of Jehangir, went to India, where he devoted himself to the

¹ "Auhadí's Garden (or Paradise) of Imagination." فردوس خیال = 991.

² One of those titles, in which, as in those of many Arabic books, the translatable sense is sacrificed to a sort of rhythm, if not rhyme. The work is generally quoted, more concisely, as the *Urfátu'l âashikîn wa ârsátu'l âârifîn*, also, familiarly, the *Urfât*.

composition of the work known as the *Tazkirah* Taki Auhadí, and finished it at Guzarat. The extracts in it amounted to eighty thousand couplets. He composed also another *Tazkirah*, abridged from the larger one, and called it *Kaábahi Irfán*¹. This *Tazkirah* the author of the *Suhuf* had not seen, but says, "Ali Culi Khan Wálih in the *Riazat ul Shuara* writes, that it contains many foolish tales, and Sirájuddín Ali Khan Arzu² says no book has been seen with such copious contents, but that it stood in need of a second revisal. With all this, Auhadí was a man of noble family, and a distinguished Sufi. He was particularly skilled in lexicography, and composed a Persian dictionary called *Surmah* Sulaimán³, founded on the *Burháni Cāti*. They say his complete works amounted to more than thirty thousand couplets, and contained among other pieces, a *Mesnawi*, called *Yácúb u Yusúf*, and a *Sákí Námah*, called *Nisár u Khumár*." The life by Ali Culi Khan is similar, but not so full, the author of the *Suhuf* having added many particulars from later sources.

One of the principal merits of Auhadí's *Tazkirah*, to readers who may not have access to Al Aulí's, is, that it preserves much of the materials of that more ancient and scarcer work, of which, it may be seen from the frequent quotation of its author's name, Taki Auhadí has made very diligent use.

The volume of Auhadí's *Tazkirah* in the Library of the East India House extends only to the first six memoirs of letter ق.

The copy used by the author of the *Khazanah* contained only from ص to ی, and he mentions that another compiler, Arzú, had also only an imperfect MS. of Auhadí. The work seems therefore to be seldom found complete.

¹ كعبه عزان "The Kaábah," or "Temple of the Learned," or "of Knowledge."

² In the *Mejmá ul Nefáís*, noticed later.

³ سرمه سلیمان *Surmeh*, or Collyrium for the eyes of Sulaiman; probably, in compliment to Shah Sulaiman Safawi, to whom perhaps it was dedicated.

نثار و خار

IV.

تذکرہ^۱ نصرابادی

The Tazkirah of Tâhir of Nasrâbâd¹, of which there is a copy in the library of the British Museum, and another in the private collection of Mr. Cureton².

A preface, written with much elegance, introduces the subject of poetry, considered either as praiseworthy, or subject to blame, and illustrates it by arguments adduced on both sides of the question in an assembly of learned friends. This is a theme frequently brought forward in works on this subject; the enemies of poetry grounding their opposition on the severe censure on that art, passed on it by Muhammad in tradition and in the Coran, while its practice is defended in a more attractive manner, if with less orthodoxy, by the eulogies bestowed by the poets themselves on their favourite pursuit, affording innumerable quotations.

Mirza Tâhir then states his desire to compose a Tazkirah, in imitation of his predecessors Al Aûfi, Alishir, Sam Mirza, Daulatshah, Mulla Sûfi³, and Taki Kashi, the object of which should be to commemorate such of his contemporaries, as were authors of a complete Diwan, or those who even occasionally composed in verse. At the suggestion of some persons of taste, he was induced to add a selection of enigmas, riddles, and chronograms⁴, from ancient as well as modern writers, of which class no collection had been previously made; and this addition he considered would much increase the interest and merit of his work. He commenced his compilation in A.H. 1183, and dedicated to Shah Sulaiman Safawi. The divisions of the work are thus arranged;—

An introduction (Mucaddamah) on the poetry of Kings and Princes.

Section 1st (صف, Series). On Emirs, Khans, Vizirs, Scribes, and

¹ I have used the latter MS.; it is an octavo volume, containing 760 pages, written in an Indian hand, without any name or date of transcription. Both copies, which are in all respects very similar, both in form and in handwriting, are furnished with an index, placed before the preface, and referring to the page by figures.

² میرزا طاہر نصرابادی

³ Author of the Tazkirah called Maikhânah u Butkhânah, noticed later.

⁴ لغز — معما — تاریخ

others, employed in the Imperial Defterkhaneh; and who were also poets; in three chapters, (فوقه).

1st; The Emirs and Khans of Iran. Chapter 2nd; Those of Hindustan. 3rd; Secretaries, Clerks, and Scribes of the Imperial Registry.

Chapter II. Sayyids, Nejbis, and others of that class.

Chapter III. Account of wise and learned men, in three divisions. 1st; Wise and learned men of Iran. 2nd; Calligraphs (خوشنویسان). 3; Fakirs and Derwishes.

Section 4th. Standard Poets.

1. Poets of Iran and Khorasan.
2. Poets of Mawarannahr.
3. Poets of Hindustan.

Section 5th. The author's family.

Khatimah. On the Enigmas, Riddles, and Chronograms, of ancient and modern writers, in two parts (آیه). 1st; Those whose author is known: and 2nd; Those which cannot be assigned to their author; each part divided further under the three heads of Chronogram, Riddle, and Enigma.

The first memoir in the Mucaddamah is that of Shah Abbas, followed by Shah Abbas II., and a few princes of the Safide family. The Emirs and other dignitaries of the 1st Saff, or series, are nearly a hundred and fifty, containing few names of any interest. The contents of the second series are above a hundred memoirs. Those of the third section, about two hundred and twenty, are also of little interest, except, perhaps, the short chapter which notices some distinguished calligraphic writers of Tahir's time. There are nine of them, with a few poetic specimens. Those bearing the title of Standard Poets are very numerous, but, with the exception of Tâlib Kelim and a few others, they are little known to us as having so high a reputation.

The Persian poets of Hindustan, forming the third and last subdivision of the fourth section, are seventeen in number, natives of Kashmir, Lahor, and other parts; of whom some appear in M. de Tassy's Biographical work, and some few also are in the chapter of the Atesh Kedah which is devoted to native Persian writers of India.

The whole of the poets given by Tahir exceed a thousand, but the greater number of them have enjoyed scarcely more than ephemeral fame, and their merits to have been little appreciated except by their contemporaries. On the whole, the author of this Tazkirah, like Sam Mirza, his predecessor in biography, seems to have

considered less the worthiness, than the number of the writers he recorded, and his object to have been either to array a longer series of names¹ than were contained in other works, or, by enhancing the merits of his contemporaries, to throw lustre on the age and reign in which he himself lived.

The fifth book gives short memoirs of some of the author's relations (seven), of which number Mirza Ahsan Ali was half-brother to Tahir's father; Mirza Sâlih, his father's cousin; and Mirza Ismail, the son of Mirza Muhammad Nasrabadi, Tahir's own cousin. Nearly all were of Nasrabad, and most of them either accompanied or followed their relation to India, in which country, as well as in Persia previously to their flight, they enjoyed great honour and respect, and were admitted to various important public dignities. Badiâzzemân, Tahir's son, was, at the time he wrote, still in Merv, and an affectionate and earnest prayer is proffered, that they may soon, as well as all his other relations, be happily reunited. The merits and accomplishments of these different members of his family are faithfully recorded, and the author proceeds to give some account of his own history and feelings. This part of the work is written in a flowery, but very beautiful style, and it will be seen later, from the criticism of a modern native writer, that it is considered a proof of Tahir's learning and elegance of composition. It commences with his birth and education in Nasrabad, and dwells with proud satisfaction on the honours and dignities of his ancestors, of whom Khâjah Sadruddin Ali, his grandfather, was governor of Isfahan in the time of Mirza Sultan Muhammad Gurkân before Mirza Shahrokh, and built three Madrasahs, formerly richly endowed and well supported, but at that time abandoned to ruin and decay. He gives a particular account of these endowments, and indulges in many regrets at their present neglected state. The further history of his family, and of his own life, though it presents a fine specimen of composition, as related by the author himself, may be conveniently replaced by the memoir of him given in the Suhuf.

"Mirza Tâhir was born in the year of the Hijrah 1049, and lived at first in the Mektebkhânâhi Shâhî, but afterwards fixed his residence in a coffee-house in Isfahan, much frequented by poets and learned men. He studied with Aca Husain Khônsâri, and by his advice and assistance arranged a Biography of Poets, called Tazkirahî Nasrâbâdî, containing the poets of the time of Shah Abbas. The

¹ "Eine grosse Zahl von Dichtern aufzufûhren," &c. Geschichte der schônen Redekûnste Persiens, p. 349, where this observation is made on the Tuhfahî Samî.

vigour of his prose may be seen from his memoir of his own life, and his excellence in poetic composition from his imitation of Ahli Shirazi's artificial *Mesnawî*¹. He associated in friendly intimacy with Mir Nejât, Mirza Sáib, and Mir Jelal Asír, and was the panegyrist of Shah Sulaiman. They say he made a journey to Hijaz, and finding on his return the coffee-house deserted by all his former friends and associates, he retired in melancholy to the Mosque of Línán, and shut himself up there in seclusion till his death. Shah Sulaiman held him in great esteem, and whenever he came to Nasirabad used to visit him. Nasirabad is a district of Isfahan, and Línán is one of the Mosques there²."

V.

مرآة الخيال

The *Mirát ul Khayál*, or "Mirror of Fancy," of Shír Khán Lóli³ is found in many collections. The copy I have in use belongs to Mr. Cureton, and is a small quarto volume of 465 pages⁴. The biography bears but a small proportion to the other contents of the volume, by far the greater part being occupied by various scientific treatises; viz., on Prosody and Versification, on Music, Medicine, Interpretation of Dreams and Physiognomy, Ethics, Physics, and Geography; and, in conclusion, separated by a long distance from the section of the work, to which it would seem more natural to append it, there is a *Tazkirat ul Sháirát*, or Biography of Poetesses.

The Preface and Introduction treat of the origin of poetry and the sentiments expressed in the Coran on that art and on its followers; of the earlier Arabic poets, concerning which the memoirs at the commencement of Daulatshah's work are noticed; allusion is made to the well-known story of Lebid, and his confession of the superiority of

¹ The *Sihri Halál* سحر حلال of Maulana Ahli of Shiraz, which was itself an imitation of Katibí's *Majmá ul Bahrain*.

² The name of the Mosque is not very distinctly written in the MS. It also reads نصيراباد in every instance; while the copies I have consulted of Tahir's work, have always نصراباد

³ Professor Dorn, from a MS. of the *Tárkhi Afghán*, belonging to the writer of this sketch, has established the pronunciation of لودی to be Lodai. *Bulletin Scientifique*, St. Petersburg. T. x.

⁴ I have also used, for collation, a copy in the library of the East India House (No. 226), an octavo of 450 pages.

the Coran over uninspired compositions. Yethret bin Cahtán bin Húd is cited as the first who composed Arabic poetry, and Behram Gúr as the inventor of the first Persian distich; the fifteen different kinds of verse are defined, exclusive of those called artistical¹ (صناعی) as practised by Amir Khusru among the ancient poets and Shaikh Habíb Ullah of Akberabad among modern writers. Immediately following the Mucaddamah is a treatise on the art of writing, the various kinds of character, and a brief notice of some celebrated calligraphs. The author thought this a suitable introduction to the biographical part of his poetic treatise, which is, in like manner, followed by the chapters treating on prosody; the latter, certainly, a very suitable accompaniment. He considered this addition the more necessary, as, he observes, writers of later date paid much less attention to prosody and the rules of their art, than those of older times, and laments, that in his day every scribbler, who could rhyme a couplet, was dubbed poet, and obtained fame and rank accordingly.

The poets noticed are seventy in number; the poetesses, fifteen. The former series includes both ancient and modern; commencing, as usual, with Asadi and the great bards of Firdusi's time, and terminating with an Indian author, Maulana Shaida of Fat'h-púr.

The poetesses, with one single exception, Mihri, differ entirely from those mentioned in the *Atesh Kedah*; these being the only two Persian *Tazkirahs* which afford the ladies the honour of a separate chapter. Many who are mentioned by Shír Khán, though their language is Persian, are of Indian birth, as might be expected in the writings of a native of that country².

A short *Khatimah* (of two pages and a half) concludes the volume. In this the author, after the usual praises of the Deity and the Prophet, returns thanks for the completion of his book, and adverts to the circumstances under which it was composed, mentioning the death of his father, but without giving his name³, in the year 1084, and of his brother, whom he calls Abdallah Khan, killed in the

¹ Such as the composition of *Tarikh*, or *Chronogram*, of *Leipogrammatic* verses, and of those called *Zú'l Bahrain*, *Zú'l Cáfiatain*, double rhymed, and to be scanned according to two different measures, &c.

² The "*Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*," and the "*History of Hindustani Poetry*," give the memoirs of several Eastern poetesses; their number, however, is far exceeded by those of Persia, as exhibited in the *Mirát* and in the *Atesh Kedah*.

³ The Arabic title of the work, as given on the fly leaf of the India House copy, supplies his father's name, calling it the *Tazkirah* of Shír Khán, Ibn Ali Ahmed Khan Lodi.

mountains of Kabul, in 1087¹. These are the only particulars, however slight, relating to his family, with which the author supplies us, and even these are introduced merely to describe the affliction, under which he laboured at the commencement of his present undertaking.

Shir Khán mentions none of his authorities, but professes (in his *Khatimah*) to have consulted many works bearing upon his subject, and declares his compilation to have been one of great labour and research², and we must estimate the value of his performance from the care he seems to have bestowed on it. The poets, whose lives it contains, being mostly of distinguished merit, are so well known to us from other memoirs, as to make a reference to the *Mirát ul Khayál* appear almost superfluous, except as being a compilation so early in date, and its materials derived probably from scarce and ancient authorities.

We find no sketch of this author's life, either among the memoirs in his work, nor, as usual, in the preface, or forming a separate chapter; and Shir Khan Lodi remains a personage undescribed. I have in vain searched for information in the numerous *Tazkirahs* which are of later date than his, but, with the exception of the *Khazanahí Aámirah*, they do not contain even a reference to his work.

The *Khátimah* of the *Mirát ul Khayál* concludes with the following *Tarikh*, from which, as the *Khazánahí Aámirah* observes, the year 1102 is obtained as the date of its completion.

این چمن‌زاری که مرآت الحیالش خوانده ام
 دارد اثر حسن معانی رنگ کمال
 صورت تاریخ انجمش توان بی پرده دید
 گر تأمل پرده بر دارد نه مرآت الحیال³

¹ Written 1007 in the MS. in full, but the word هشتاد eighty had, no doubt, been omitted.

² مصدر دواوین و کتب متداوله چه قدر تلاش نمود و چه مایه عرق ریزی سعی بیکار برد

³ This Chronogram is ingenious, but requires explanation. The letters of *مرآت الحیال* give the number 1313, from which, abstracting the numerical value of the word *پرده* = 211, there remains 1102. Thus "Reflection, by removing the veil (*پرده*) from the *Mirror of Fancy*, discloses the date of its completion." There is a word in the second line wanting in the MS., and I am unable to supply it from the *Khazanah*, which only gives the figures of the year, but not the verses,

VI.

مقالات شعرا

The author of this little Tazkirah¹ calls himself Ináyat Talabkhán Yáwar², son of Rahmat Yár Khán, and states, in a short preface, that having long cherished a wish to undertake a work of this kind, he had, at length, on Panjshambah, nineteenth of Rajab, in the ninth year of Muhammad Shah, and the year of the Hijrah 1139, "knocked at the portal of commencement," and, despite the discouraging manner in which his master, Shaikh Muhammad Aádil Ulawi (عادل اولوی) viewed his undertaking, he finally completed his work; for which "that compendium of countless perfections," Khájah Muhammad Sherif furnished a poetical Chronogram, or Táríkhi Anjám.

بجو سالرا از مقالات شعرا ۱۱۴۰³

There are memoirs of nearly 220 poets in this Tazkirah, alphabetically arranged. Both narrative and selection of poetry are naturally very limited. A short Khátimah, copied by another hand, expresses the satisfaction of the author at the completion of this "heart-alluring volume," with the customary apologies and claims for indulgence. There is no quotation of the Macáláti Shuâra in other Tazkirahs, nor can I find the poet Yáwar in any of their biographies.

VII.

ریاضة الشعراء

The latter half of the twelfth century of the Hijrah furnishes numerous works on biography, but of a long list of Tazkirahs⁴, the

¹ MS. of the India House Library, No. 427, containing sixty-five pages in octavo, many of the memoirs being written in a minute hand round the margin, or in spaces which had been blank; probably additions.

² عنایت طلبخان یاور "مخلص" In a note on the fly leaf the name is written محمد عنایت الله مخاطب بعنایت طلبخان یاور which is probably correct.

³ The title, however, only affords the number 1143.

⁴ I have the use of two copies of the Riázat, of which one is in my own collection, a very plainly written quarto manuscript of 500 pages, formerly belonging to Major Turner Macan, who quotes it in the Introduction to his edition of the Shah Nameh. This MS. extends only to the letter س The other is a large folio in the India House (Bibliotheca Leydeniana), and is complete. Mr. J. B. Elliott also possesses a copy.

earliest I can notice from inspection, is the *Riázat ul Shuârá*, or Garden of Poets, by Ali Culi Khan, a native of Daghistan, from which his work is sometimes called also *Tárikhi Daghístání*. This *Tazkirah* is referred to by most writers who succeeded him; and in many of their works his life is given, under the name of *Wálíh*, his *Takhallus*.

A short preface states, as the author's reason for compiling the work, his desire to make known to the world the poets of his own time, particularly those of India, to which country he had been driven from Persia by the unhappy events of the Afghan invasion. His object, as he states, was rather to collect lofty ideas and precious compositions, than to array an imposing host of versifiers. In the selection of his anthology he has chosen mostly from *Casidah*, *Ghazal*, *Kitâah*, and other kinds of verse, abstaining from *Mesnawi*, as being of too great extent; "For," he says, "if I had given extracts from such works as the *Shah Námeh* of Firdusi, the *Khamseh* of Nizami, Jami's Seven Poems, the *Mesnawi* of the *Maulána*, &c., it would have swelled the size of the volume to twenty thousand couplets, and have caused rather weariness than interest to the reader." He states himself to have perused seventy *Diwans*, and consulted numerous biographical and historical works, and others relating to his subject. The *Nafahát*¹ and the *Mejális ul Ushshác*² alone are quoted by name. Wherever there was a difference of opinion in *Tazkirahs*, he endeavoured to reconcile them, or to decide according to the greater or less degree of credit they deserved. To the *Nafahát* in particular he attached great credit. He then eulogizes Shah Husain Mirza Safawi, Shah Tahmasp, Nadir, and Muhammad Shah. A portion of the preface is devoted to explaining the arrangement of his book, which he has made alphabetical, giving reasons for his preference of it to a chronological series, or to division according to rank and profession. Each letter forms a separate *Rauzah*, or Garden; "and this beauteous charmer (شاهد زیبا) he named *Riáz ul Shuârá*", and added a *Khatimah*, containing his life."

The date of the composition of the *Tazkirah* is thus enigmatised

¹ نفحات الانس *Nafahát ul Uns*, Jami's celebrated work on Sufyism, analyzed in the *Notices et Extraits*, &c.

² مجالس العشاق *A collection of Anecdotes of Sufi love. The contents are given in Hammer-Purgstall's Catalogue of his Manuscripts.*

³ Sometimes written *Riázat*, and sometimes *Riáz ul Shuârá*.

in a Tetrastich found among the specimens given of the author's poetry.

این تذکره چون طرب فزای دل شد
تاربخش را دل از خرد سایل شد
گفتا ز ریاض الشعرا رفت خزان
در وی چو بهار سر زده داخل شد¹

Although it might be supposed to be more interesting to learn the author's history as described by his own pen, it is so much more full in the memoir given of him in the *Suhuf*, that it is preferable for insertion here.

The original country of his ancestors is stated to have been Arabistan, and their genealogy to have been traced back to Abbas, the uncle of the prophet. On the invasion of Hulagu Khan, and the downfall of the dynasty of the Abbaside Khalifs, one of the family emigrated to Daghistan, where he took up his abode, and from his commanding and noble manners and appearance, was at once recognised by the people as their chief. This princely authority remained with his descendants many years after his death, till, in the time of Shah Safi Safawi, one of the forefathers of this same Walih removed from Daghistan to Iran, where he was honoured with the title of Safi Culi Khan, and appointed Begler Beg of Iran. From that time till the reign of Husain Mirza, the whole line of this family continued to enjoy honour and distinction; "such as Muhammad Ali Khan Rúbdálah, Begler Beg of Iravan, and Azarbaijan, and Candahar, and Fath Ali Khan, uncle of the aforesaid Khan, who was entrusted with the office of Vizir."

Walih was born at Isfahan, and his education was attended with the most distinguished success. A romantic attachment, formed while he was pursuing his studies at the Mekteb Khaneh, for his cousin, Khadíjah Sultan, with whom his union was prevented by "revolution of fortune, and the fiery breaking out of the Afghan invasion," exercised a melancholy influence over the remainder of Walih's life, during

¹ To obtain the required date, recourse must be had to the license *Ta'āmiyah*; thus, the Arabic letters of the title of the book give 1613, from which take those of the word *Khazān* (Autumn) = 658, leaving 955. Insert the numeric value of بهار (Spring) "deprived of its head," (i. e., the first letter ب), viz., 208 - 2; according to the directions ingeniously concealed in the last two lines, "*Autumn* departed from the *Garden of Poets*, when *Spring*, deprived of its head, had entered." 1613 + 206 - 658 = 1161.

the whole of which he remained sad and downcast, and was the occasion of his composing many elegies in Turki and Persian, "on the absence of that unseen moon," the notice of which compositions belongs rather to the consideration of his character as a poet, than as the object of this sketch¹.

Ali Culi Khan, at the distracted period of the revolution in Persia, and the rising of the sun of Nadir's glory, left his country and settled in India, where he was favourably received at Court, became one of the Umrás, and lived in peace and contentment, honoured and respected, in the society of his friends, till the year 1180, when he died.

Nearly the same particulars of the life of Walih are given in the *Tazkirah* of Abu Talib², in which Shamakhan in Daghistán is named as the native town of Ali Culi's family, and the first settler in Persia is called Aleás Mirza, younger son of Aldár Khan of Shama-khan. "In the time of Sultan Husáin Mirza the principal high offices in the kingdom appear to have been filled by different members of his family; Fath Ali Khan, his younger son being Sipáh Sálár, and Muhammad Ali Khan, (Ali Culi Khan's father,) younger brother of Lutf Ali Khan, having the government of Ganjah and Shirwan." The same *Tazkirah* relates the early attachment to his cousin, who was also betrothed to him, and his consequent flight from his native country. "The date of Walih's emigration to India was 1147, and of his death there 1170." "The contents of his *Diwan*," Abu Talib adds, "are estimated at four thousand couplets, and he wrote also a *Tazkirah*, which, as stated already in the preface, was the cause of undertaking this work;" viz., the *Khulásat ul Afkár*.

The very short notice of Walih, in the *Atesh Kodah*, furnishes no additional information. In that work he is usually quoted as Ali Culi Khan Legzi.

The memoirs contained in the *Riazat* are between 1500 and 1600. Many of these, as well as the specimens given, are of considerable length, as those of Anwari, Auhadi of Maraghab, Jami, Hafiz, Khusrú, &c., and besides these well-known authors, large extracts from the scarcer works of Haidar, Shefáí, Abdul Wási' Jabali, Furogh, Ibrahim Khalífah (of whom a long memoir also). Some of the latter occupy ten and twelve large folio pages³; those of Urfi, a

¹ Possibly his poetic name of Wálili, *اللي*, signifying "distracted lover," may have been chosen by him from the circumstance of his unfortunate attachment.

² The *Khulasat ul Afkár*, No. XI.

³ Those in the India House copy contain twenty-five lines of prose, or fifty couplets of poetry, to a page.

favourite poet with all native compilers, and of Sâib, nearly twenty pages each. From the very rare poem of Fakhraddin Asâad on the loves of Waisah and Ramîn, there is a selection of more than seven hundred couplets. The longest notices in biography are probably those of Shah Tahmasp, and of Lutf Ali Khan, a paternal uncle of the author, each containing four or five full pages of historical detail. There is also a very interesting memoir of Mulla Shah, who occupies so conspicuous a place in the Dabistan. The specimens of Walih's own poetry, given at the end of the Khatimah containing his life, amount to five or six hundred couplets. They are chiefly *Casidah*.

Walih's Tazkirah possesses a similar merit to that of Taki Auhadi in preserving recollections of Al Aûfi, whose work is repeatedly quoted, apparently from inspection, and not indirectly through some later source. The other authorities principally used are Auhadi, Tâhir, Shîr Khan; also Serkhush, author of the *Kelimât ul Shuârâ*.

The importance of the *Riâzat ul Shuara*, and the esteem in which it was held by critics, is sufficiently shown by Abu Talib's declaration that it was his chief inducement for compiling his own Tazkirah. Indeed, all subsequent authors agree in paying a tribute to the learning and excellence of Walih.

VIII.

تذكرة المعاصرين

A Tazkirat ul Mûâsirîn, or Biography of his contemporaries, was composed by the celebrated Shaikh Ali Hazin, who, in addition to the curious and interesting notices of authors, which are interspersed through his own *Memoirs*¹, has devoted a separate work to the commemoration of the poets of the twelfth century of Islamism.

The only copy I have seen of this Tazkirah, is in the possession of Professor Forbes Falconer, to whom I am indebted for the use of it. The manuscript is a small folio of eighty-seven leaves, written out in Shawwal 1244, in a fine large Nasta'ali, containing fifteen lines to a page. The preface occupies twelve pages. The author wished only to record the lives and poetry of his friends and contemporaries, and had, therefore, commenced his memoirs from the date of his own birth in Rabîâ ul sânî, 1103. In speaking of previous Tazkirahs, he says, that many hardly deserve credit, verses of one author being frequently ascribed to another; persons inserted as poets, who never

¹ Distinguished by the name of تذكرة الاحوال. A copy of it is contained in the same manuscript with the work now under notice.

even composed in verse; and merit extolled, or cried down, in a perfectly arbitrary manner. In the composition of his own work he seems to have laboured under much disadvantage, arranging it, as he says, "in a time of affliction¹," and depending entirely on memory both for his history and quotation, in which he states himself to have been unassisted by a single line of any author, or by reference to any work on the subject, so that in some cases, he was obliged to give the memoir alone, rather than omit one name of the fraternity of poets. The division is simply into two parts, or *فَرْقَة*, the first containing twenty, and the latter, eighty memoirs. Those of the first part are of learned men, and occupy seventy-five pages; the second part comprises those of humbler rank and pretensions, briefly described in seventy-eight pages. In a short Khatimah the author returns thanks for the completion of his book, having, by application some hours by day and night, in nine days completed the number of a hundred memoirs, accompanied by such specimens of poetry as he could remember, and subscribes himself as Muḥammad, called Ali bin Abi Tālib bin Abdillāh bin Ali al Zāhidī al Gilānī. The date of his composition, he had already stated in the preface, to be 1165, when he was in India.

It will be conceived that this compilation, whose materials were derived solely from the author's unassisted memory, can afford but a very limited extent of extract, while the memoirs, being exclusively contemporaneous, present few names of interest, in our present circumscribed knowledge of modern Persian literature. Hazin's Tazkirah is, however, perhaps the more valuable, as a biographic outline of authors whose names would otherwise have perished altogether; and as containing specimens of their compositions, which were probably either never collected into Diwans, or if published, have been since forgotten or destroyed. Its contents are also important as being derived from the author's own personal knowledge, and deserving credit from the scrupulous fidelity he observed in his arrangement. Several of the same poets are noticed by his contemporary, Lutf Ali, in the Atesh Kedah, but no memoir of that author, nor allusion to his Tazkirah appears in Ali Hazin's work. The Atesh Kedah was, indeed, completed after Hazin's flight from Persia, and as the two authors were not acquainted², it is possible that the Shaikh had no knowledge of his contemporary's labours, the result of which would hardly have found its way to India during the troubles of that period.

¹ Alluding, no doubt, to his exile from his country, detailed in his Autobiography.

² So stated in the life of Hazin, in the Atesh Kedah.

Ali Hazin's *Tazkirat ul Mûásirín* is one of the authorities named in the preface of the *Khazanahí Aámirah*, and the *Khulasat ul Kelam*. A notice of his life appears in the latter work, in the *Suhuf*, and also in the *Khulasat ul Afkár*, as well as in the *Atesh Kedah*. Little, however, is to be added to the full details we possess in his *Auto-biography*. The date of his death, already fixed by M. de Tassy¹ from an Indian *Tazkirah*, is confirmed in the *Khulasat ul Kelam*, which states him to have died in the year 1180, and his burial-place outside the city of Benares to have been much visited.

IX.

اتخاب تذكرات الشعرا

A small octavo volume², called *Intikhábi Tazkirát ul Shuárá*, claims a place among the works now under notice, though, as its name denotes, it professes to be no more than a compendium. It contains only seventy-seven leaves, written in an Indian character, fifteen lines to a page. The compiler, without mentioning his name, states his object to have been the arrangement of a *Bayaz* from *Tazkirahs* and *Diwans* "from the earliest times to the present year 1172." The division is into three *Tabacahs*, or classes.

Class 1st. Poets of the earliest age, from the very commencement of the knowledge of the art of poetry among the Persians, down to the year 800, contemporary with Amir Timur Gürkání Sáhíb Kirán.

Class 2nd متوسطين. Those of middle antiquity, down to the time of Humayun Padishah Tughrayí, 961.

Class 3rd متأخرين. Modern poets.

To the last class he has "annexed some of the earlier masters of poetry, who, having composed in *Pehlewi*, *Cazwíni*, *Kirmáni*, ancient *Gurkhi*³, and other tongues now no longer in use, he has contented himself with giving their names only, as also of some other writers, of whom, from their great antiquity, he was unacquainted with the compositions."

The proposed arrangement does not seem to be preserved, as the poets occur merely in the alphabetical order of their names, without any apparent division in the copy according to classes of age.

¹ History of Hindustani Literature. "Hazin (Muhammad)."

² In the Library of the East India House, marked No. 47; presented by Lieutenant-Colonel William Kirkpatrick, 30th May, 1804.

³ I should have been inclined to read *Gurji*, the language of Gurjistan, but it is written distinctly with Kh in the MS. in several places.

They amount to one hundred and fifty in number, and comprise chiefly the most celebrated names, both memoir and extract being, in proportion to the size of the work, of very moderate length. A few of the biographies, indeed, extend over a page or more in length. The most interesting chapter is the very brief one which forms the Khatimah or Appendix, in which the names, and little more, of twenty poets are given, who wrote in languages or dialects now lost, such as are described in the preface. It is only to be regretted, that some specimens of their compositions are not preserved, which, if merely for philology alone, would be of great interest.

X.

خزانه عامره

The Khazánahi Aámirah, a manuscript in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society¹, and forming the tenth in order, of those to be described here, is a volume of small size, but very interesting in its contents, especially as affording in the preface a clue to numerous Tazkirahs by which it was enriched, and of which many seem to have escaped the observation of other writers.

The author calls himself, in his preface, "the well-wisher to the princes of eloquence, the poor servant of God, Azád, Husainí, Wásití², Balgrámí," and says he composed this Tazkirah at the request of his relation, Muhammad Auládi Muhammad, and the date of his composition he has expressed in a Tarikh, which gives the year 1176³.

¹ Presented to the Oriental Translation Committee by Sir Alexander Malet, Bart. Numbered 187 in Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the MSS. Octavo, closely written in a good hand, a page containing twenty-two lines.

An extract from this Tazkirah, containing lives of some of the nobles of Hindustan, is sometimes found in a detached form, and bearing the same title as the original; so that a manuscript of the one is frequently described as, and mistaken for, the other. In this state it usually contains about 120 pages, octavo; as in a copy in the East India House Library, and one in my own collection. The extract is also called Khazánahi Umara, that is, "of the Nobles;" and this Arabic plural of Amír, so much resembles the title of the original work, that it produces much ambiguity.

² One of his ancestors, originally of Wásit, settled in Balgrám.

ازاد رقم نمود نو تذكرة
در جیب ورق ربخت نقود سره
گنجور خرد گوهر تاریخ فشانده
حق داده عجب خزانه عامره

A detailed account of his own life is given under his poetic name Azad, in its proper place among the memoirs. The remainder of the preface is devoted to the discussion of the origin of Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani poetry, and to an explanation of the principles on which he has arranged his materials.

"The arrival of Fakír Azád from the dormitory of nonentity to the assembly of existence was on Yakshambah, the 25th of Safar, 1116. His birthplace was Maidanpúr, which is in the town of Balgrám, a dependance of the Súbah of Audh, in the territory of Púr. His genealogy ascends to 'Isa Muwattim ul Ashbál' bin Zaid Shahíd bin Imám Zain il Aábidín." He then mentions his different preceptors. "I acquired learning from five masters: first, from that mirror of wisdom, Mír Tufail Muhammad; secondly, from that illustrious sage, Mír Abdul Jelíl², may God make him drink of the water of Selsibíl! he instructed me in language, and the traditions of the Prophet and in humanity; thirdly, that sea of the waves of learning, Mír Sayyid Muhammad; from him I learned prosody, and other branches of polite literature; fourthly, from that master of Coranic learning, Shaikh Muhammad Hayát; lastly, that combination of varied excellences, Shaikh Abdulwahháb Tantáwi."

He states himself to have performed three journeys in the course of his life: first, in 1134, to Shahjehanabad, in company with Mír Azamat Ullah Bikhbar³ Balgrámi, where he remained two years studying, and then returned to Balgrám; second, in Zilhijjah 1142, to Sívestan, a town of Sind, passing through Multan and Lahor, and arriving on the 11th of Rabíá ul Awwal of the following year. There he saw his uncle, Mír Sayyid Muhammad, who held an appointment in that city for the Emperor of Delhi. After four years, Azad returned to Sívestan, and in the middle of the year 1147, came back, by the same way, to Shahjehanabad, where, hearing that his father and some of his family were at Allahabad, about ten stages distant from Balgrám, he went there, arriving just in time for the full moon of Ramazan, so as to enjoy both the splendour of the feast and the happiness of meeting his friends and relations; and during his stay twice visited "that Rosebower Balgrám."

The third journey was to Hijaz, and the two holy sanctuaries.

¹ موتم الاشبال is explained in the narrative to mean "one who makes orphan the young lions;" i. e., a great lion-killer, and to have been given as a surname to this person, from his love of the chase.

² According to the Suhuf, Azad was son of Mír Abdul Jelíl.

³ Author of the Sefinahi Bikhbar, a Tazkirah alluded to in the Preface, and mentioned later among these Notices.

"On my second visit to Balgrám, the desire I had long entertained of visiting the shrines, gained the ascendancy, and on the 3rd of Rajab, 1150, corresponding with the word 'Seferi Khair,' I packed my saddle-bags for Hijáz, and having traversed sea and land, arrived at the holy places, and rubbed the forehead of supplication on the threshold of the house of God. The season of pilgrimage being yet remote, I remained three days in Mecca, and then repaired to Medinah, and made the dust of the threshold of the Prophet collyrium for the eye of prayer. On the approach of the 'Id ul Fitr², I repaired to Mecca, and passed a year (corresponding with Amali Aâzam³) in the duties of pilgrimage." Finally, in the year 1152, corresponding to "Sefer bakhair⁴," he left Mecca for the Dekkan, and after residing some time in the city of Aurangabad, chose it as his residence, and continued to dwell there to the period when he wrote his memoir, at the age of sixty-one years. He next introduces the subject of his own poetry, informing his readers that he had arranged Diwans both in Persian and Arabic, the latter of which contained three thousand couplets, and which, with much self-gratulation, he states to have been well-known in the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina, in Yemen, and in Egypt⁵.

Ibrahim Khalíl gives the life of Azád, in his Suhuf, and further states that, "up to the present time, which is the seventh year of Shah Aâlam, he is still occupied in the composition of Arabic and Persian poetry. His works are numerous; among others, he has arranged three Tazkirahs of Poets; the first is named Yadi Bayza, the second Servi Azád⁶, and the third Khazánahi Aámirah."

From the Khulasat ul Afkar, we learn that Azád was a distinguished poet; that after his journeys and pilgrimage already described, (and mentioned also in the Suhuf), he was much honoured during his residence at Aurangabad by the Subahdars, and associated in friendly intimacy with the sons of Asaf Jah; yet with these temptations, he never engaged in the affairs of the world. Of his composition there is

¹ سفر خیر "Prosperous journey;" a Chronogram of the year 1150.

عيد الغفران The Feast immediately following Ramazan.

عمل اعظم "The great work," or "duty," makes a Tarikh = 1151.

سفر بخیر Similar to Seferi Khair, but being a year later, an additional unit, expressed by ب, was necessary to complete the date, 1152.

⁵ M. de Tassy's Biography cites him also as an Hindustani poet, and author of a treatise on Indian Ghazals.

⁶ These two works are noticed later.

a Persian Diwan, and a book of Arabic Elegies and Mesnawis, nearly ten thousand couplets. Only two of his Tazkirahs are here mentioned, the present work and the *Servi Azad*, both of which the author of the *Khulasat ul Afkar* considers to be noble proofs of his proficiency in every thing connected with prosody and versification, and composition, both in Persian and Arabic. The year of Fakir Azád's death, 1200, is also given.

In a biography of Azád, in the *Macálati Shûarâ*, some further slight particulars are found; that he studied eloquence with Muhammad Aslam Sálím¹, and Shaikh Saâd Ullah Gulshan, in the Subah of Ahmedabad of Guzarat; that for a short time he was in attendance on Muhammad Aazam Shah, and also in the service of Amír Khan, Subahdar of Akbarabad. "At the command of that mine of generosity Mir Abúl Wafá Hindi, he composed a tale in verse called *Náz u Níáz*², a Mesnawi, from which an extract is given."

One of the most remarkable features in the *Khazanah* is the great variety of sources to which the author had access, and of which he has availed himself for his compilation. A catalogue of more than twenty Tazkirahs is given in his preface, mostly accompanied by some critical or biographical remarks, and, wherever it was possible, by the date of the author's death, or of the composition of the work; many of these are expressed in poetic chronogram, and are important from the accuracy they infer. All the Biographies anterior to his own are named, with the exception of the *Beharistan*. Eight of those which I name in this sketch, are drawn solely from that catalogue. To avoid repetition, I abstain from giving the list entire in this place, but it may be seen from the very frequent references, how much I am indebted to it in my present inquiry. A few other works, equally useful for authority on the subject, though not strictly Tazkirát ul Shuara, are also described in Azád's preface; the *Hefi Aclim*, *Tarikhi Badáwani*, &c.

XI.

خلاصۃ الافكار

A very slight anachronism may be pardonable in making the present subject precede that of No. XII., thus preserving the regularity of the narrative; although the *Khulásat ul Afkár* is, by a few years,

¹ Muhammad Aslam was a pupil of Mulla Muhsin Fání, to whom the *Dabistan* has been attributed. The memoir of Aslam is given in the *Suhuf*, that of Shah Gulshan in the *Riázat*.

² ناز و نیاز

of more recent date than the two works described later, and is, consequently the most modern of all the Tazkirahs of which we have any knowledge. It is the composition of Mirza Abu Tálíb Khan, the accomplished oriental traveller, the journal of whose visit to Europe, and residence in this country, has already exhibited him as a writer of good taste and ability, and who has presented us with the result of his labours in criticism and in biographical research, in the volume now under notice. The only copy I am informed of, is in the library of the East India House¹. It is contained in a large and very thick quarto, of which the biographical part occupies 383 leaves. It is very carefully written in good small Nasta'lic, is in perfect condition, and complete.

In a preface of eight pages, Abú Tálíb Khán al Tabrízí al Isfahání, "the A B C reader of the grammar-school of ignorance," son of the late Hajji Muhammad Beg, states, that from the earliest age to the present time, viz., at the age of forty, and the year 1206, he had read much, and had been a great admirer of poetry, and had long conceived the project of composing a Tazkirah of ancient and modern poets, which he thought would be a work likely to meet with the approbation of people of learning and taste. Pressure of business, however, and various engagements did not allow him an opportunity of putting his design into immediate execution, although he never entirely abandoned it, but continued to collect materials, carefully noting for extracts whatever book he met with, till in the year 1202, being at Calcutta, where he was absent from Lucknow, his birth-place, and, for some time, his residence, he chanced to meet with that learned and excellent Sayyid, the late Mir Muhammad Husain, (of whom he makes mention in the Khatimah of his book,) then lately arrived there from Hyderabad. "I happened at that time to be engaged with the late Ali Culi Khan's Tazkirah, abounding in beautiful poetry, and with which I was greatly charmed. One day the Sayyid recommended me to make an abridgement of the work, which, in obedience to so esteemed a friend, I cheerfully undertook, and augmented it with a Khatimah and memoirs of some of my contemporaries." Still, his former project had taken such deep root in his mind, that he determined on fulfilling it, and as his materials had been gradually collected and prepared during twenty-five years of study and research, in a very short time he was able to arrange them in their present form; viz., a Mucaddamah, twenty-eight Hadícahs (or gardens) a Zil, and a Khátimah; and as its principal object was to contain a choice of the most beautiful conceptions of the poets of

¹ No. 53 of the Leyden Collection.

Persia, he named it *Khulásat ul Afkár* (the Beauties of Poetry). Some verses follow, by the author, of which the last lines give the date of its commencement and completion, viz. 1207 and 1211¹; also a short *Mesnavi*, in which he dedicates his book to the Vizir Asafuddaulah.

In the *Mucaddamah*, the nature and origin of poetry is discussed, and the rise and progress of the art down to the twelfth century of the Hijrah. Abu Talib then proceeds to give the divisions of Persian verse according to ten forms and eighteen subjects; treats of the necessary qualifications for a writer of biography, and the best mode of arranging a *Tazkirah*; then describes minutely the arrangement of his own, and the manner in which he has selected his extracts; says, that of the more celebrated poets he has not hesitated to take four, or even seven hundred couplets, as he thereby enables the reader to dispense with forty or fifty volumes of prose and verse; also, of such poems as the *Hasht Bihisht* of Khusru, the stories of the *Shah Nameh*, the *Hamlahi Haidari*, &c., from which the extracts given are of very great extent. Particular directions, occupying the remainder of the *Mucaddamah*, are given to all who copy his book to attend scrupulously to the order he has observed in his anthology, so that the various specimens may follow the life of each author according to a prescribed arrangement, under the several heads of *Casidah*, *Ghazal*, *Rubái*, &c., comprising all the divisions of verse both in subject and in form. Each of these divisions has its own alphabetical series, and even where the rhyme is changed, the alteration is announced by the *Radif* or final letter being written in red, where it first occurs. A *Fihrist*, or Table of Contents, of elaborate exactness, is prefixed to each chapter, giving in the figures called *Racam*, the number of extracts accompanying each memoir, as well as of the couplets contained in them; the amount in each chapter being summed up separately, according to their various kinds. The whole is recapitulated in a *Fihristi Kull*, or General Index, by which the rich contents of the volume are displayed under a classified and methodical arrangement, of great utility both for reference to this particular *Tazkirah*, and as a conspectus of Persian literature.

¹ There are seventeen distichs, concluding with

گل بیخار و گنج بی رنج است
سال اتمام این خجسته نگار
در تو از مبدش بخوای گو
جمع یکجا خلاصه الافکار

The division of the chapters is merely according to the letters of the alphabet; thus, *Hadīcahi Alif*, "Garden A," &c. The memoirs contained in them amount to 309, accompanied by 4570 specimens, containing 23,281 couplets. A *Zil*, or supplement, supplies the memoirs of 159 poets more, whose compositions were either not known to the author at the time he was engaged in the first part of his work, or were more difficult to obtain from not having been collected in *Diwans*. These extracts consist of 1105 couplets, contained in 536 specimens. A *Khātimah* comprises the author's own memoir, and those of twenty-three of his friends and contemporaries, contributing 316 specimens, or 1165 couplets; the whole number of poets commemorated in this *Tazkirah*, amounting to 491; the specimens of their poetry 5422; and the number of couplets 25,551.

The chapter of Contemporaneous Poets contains an episode of some interest to amateurs of Hinduwi literature, though here rather abruptly introduced. At the conclusion of a memoir of an Indian poet, *Rai Sunāt'h Singh*, *Bédār Takhallus*, the biographer takes occasion to mention that, although a Persian writer, *Sunāt'h Singh* was a Hindi, and his proper language, *Bhákka*, the dialect of the people of *Braj*, in which compositions existed in great number, arranged in the old Indian metres, differing widely from those of the Arabs. He then informs us that in that language a poet is called *Kabishwar*, and *Kabishwarán*, and that the number of such poets is so great, that were he to make mention of all of them, "it would lead to prolixity; on the other hand, to pass them altogether in silence, would fall far short of what is just, this language being sweet, sonorous, and distinguished by all the properties essential to a polished and learned tongue." He concludes an eulogium on the *Bhákha* dialect by proposing to give a sketch of some of its most distinguished poets, accompanied by thirty-two *Kabits*, and three hundred and thirty-seven *Dohrahs*, as specimens of their compositions, to fulfil the promise in his preface, of gratifying the demand of readers of every taste. There are about ten memoirs, containing, among others, the names of *Behári*, *Késava Dás*, *Sundar*, &c., the whole occupying the entire three sides of margin of sixteen pages of the text, of which seven are devoted to an extraordinary *Risalah*, called *Siráj*, or by *Pandits*, *Bhéd Nákiya*, or *Nákiya Bhéd*¹.

The portion devoted to the author's own life is confined to two pages, commencing with an account of his family, in which his father, *Hajji Muhammad Beg Khan*², is stated to have derived his origin from

¹ بهید ناكيا

² In the Preface his father is called also *Muhammad Tabrizí Isfahání*, alluding, as in the son's name, to the origin of the family, from *Tabriz*.

the Turkmans of Azarbaijan, to have been born in Abbasabad of Isfahan, and to have come early in life to India, where he entered into the service of the Vizir, Abul Mansúr Khan, was appointed to various offices in Oude, and subsequently lived at Benares. His death took place at Murshidabad, about the sixtieth year of his age, A.N. 1183, of which event rather a long Kitáb, or Fragment, contains the date. The name of Abu Talib's maternal grandfather is also given, Abúl Hasan Beg, a pious and virtuous man, born at Isfahan, and some few particulars of his life are mentioned. Abu Talib himself was born at Lakhnau, in the year 1166, and his early education directed by the Nawwab Shujá' uddaulah, who, whenever he visited the city, was pleased to inquire after the young Abu Talib's health and well-doing. The memoir continues to relate the progress of his education, his appointment to various public situations in the government of Oude, and the further particulars of his history already known from the narrative of his travels, and contains no additional circumstance of any literary interest. As specimens of his poetic talent it gives a few Tetrastichs, some of which are elegiac verses on his son, who died at an early age.

It has already been seen from the Preface, that the compiler has not confined himself to a selection of poetry, but inserted also some prose specimens, which are referred to and numbered in the Index. Those contained in the former part of the work are extracts from Sadi's Gulistan, from the works of Nimat Khan Aáli, from the Ricááti Aálangiri, a Risaleh by Mir Shamsuddin Fakír, an extract from the Tárikhi Nádiri, and from the Abwáb ul Jinán¹. Those exhibited in the Khatimah are of his own composition, consisting of five Treatises, which form a considerable part of the conclusion of the volume. The first is on Ethics, of four pages; on Music, three pages; a Treatise on Prosody, about ten; forty of a "Compendious Essay on the Five Branches of Medical Science;" and lastly, an Epitome of Universal History and Geography, to which he has given the name of Lubb ul Siyar u Jehán Numá², and which may be considered as a separate and independent work. It is of considerable length, and the author seems to have bestowed great pains and attention on its composition. It is

¹ These are mostly well-known works. Nimat Khan was a sort of Persian Dean Swift. The Tárikhi Nádiri was translated by Sir W. Jones; ابواب الجنان "The gates of Paradise" is an ethical work, by Muhammad Muhsin Rádbári; and Shamsuddin, surnamed Fakír, was a poet of Dehli; vide De Tassy, "Faquir." The other two require no comment.

² لبّ السّير و جهان نما

particularly interesting as comprising in its general outline a concise description of the countries of Europe, and of America, and even a sketch of their history. The portion relating to Great Britain is of more extent than that which is devoted to other European nations; the reigns of each king even are separately noticed, and the origin of the East India Company and its dominion are reviewed in the proper place. The whole is highly curious, and though too remote from literary interest in connexion with poetry, or poetical biography, to admit of further analysis on this occasion, it is well worthy of at least a partial translation, to exhibit the amount of knowledge possessed by its accomplished author on so varied and extensive a field as that of general history and geography, and especially on many subjects usually beyond the limits of Asiatic inquiry and means of research. This last treatise was composed 1208 = 1793. The author's death occurred in 1221 = 1806¹.

XII.

خلاصة الكلام — صف ابراهيم

Terminating a period of nearly six hundred years, over whose literature extends a series of more than forty Tazkirahs, we arrive at two most remarkable works, which, although perfectly distinct from each other in title and contents, yet, from their unity of design, and the circumstance of their being written by the same author, I am induced to count as one single article in the present arrangement.

Preceding writers on the subject had usually limited their researches to a particular age, or to poets who had excelled in one or more styles; but a later author, grasping the whole circle of criticism and biography, has given us a complete survey of poetical literature, from its earliest dawn to the very recent period at which he finished his compilation. The results of his diligence and learning he named the *Khulásat ul Kelám* and *Suhufi Ibrahim*.

Of these two works, the former, or at least a volume of it, is contained in the Library of our Society. The *Suhufi Ibrahim* appears to be found only in the collection of Mr. Elliott, to whose interesting communication (already mentioned) I was first indebted both for the knowledge of its existence and for some account of its author. The manuscript has since been kindly entrusted to my care; but the description my obliging correspondent had already given me of it,

¹ See "Abi Tálib Khán," in the valuable Persian notices contributed to the *New Biographical Dictionary*, 1842.

contains so many interesting particulars, I am induced to quote it here entire¹.

"This collection was made by the late Nawwab Amin ud Dowlah, Aziz ul Mulk, Ali Ibrahim Khan Bahadur, Nasir Jang, ul Mutakhallus ba Khalil. This gentleman was honoured by the friendship of Warren Hastings, by whom he was appointed Judge of the city of Benares, where he resided many years, and was highly respected for the qualities of his head and heart. He also compiled a collection of Hindustani Poetry, entitled *Gulzari Ibrahim*, respecting which see page x. of M. Garcin de Tassy's Preface to Volume I. of his History of the Literature of Hindustan. The Nawwab has divided his collection of Persian Poetry into two distinct works; the one entitled *Khulasat ul Kelam* is appropriated to selections from, and abstracts of, the *Mesnawis* of seventy-eight poets who have produced the most approved works in that style of poetry. It is contained in two large quarto volumes of 2005 pages, each page containing four lines in breadth and twenty-one in length. The second collection is entitled *Suhufi Ibrahim*, and includes the sorts of poetry not comprehended in the former. To give some idea of the extent of the work, I may mention, that a large royal octavo volume of 694 closely written pages is filled solely with the biographical notices of 3263 poets.

"The poetical extracts of this second work are not in my possession. It was compiled subsequently to the *Khulasat ul Kelam*, when the Nawwab was at a very advanced age, and I have some doubts whether a fair copy of it has ever been taken. The nephew of the Nawwab, long a resident of this city, informed me, that (owing to the dissipated character of the Nawwab's heirs,) a copy could not be obtained, but I have since heard of the existence of one in the library of an English gentleman resident at Benares. This portion of the work is, therefore, not to be given up as irrecoverable, and there are even reasons for considering the loss of it as less to be regretted than would have been that of the *Mesnawis*, possessing as we do, the *Diwans* and miscellaneous poems of the most eminent poets mostly, or entirely complete.

"However, what in my opinion renders the collection of the Nawwab of peculiar importance is the very valuable mass of biographical information it contains, not merely in point of quantity of matter only, but for the great critical acumen displayed in selecting

¹ To Mr. Elliott, therefore, I am indebted for the first and last of the works which form the subject of this Essay; the indisputably most ancient, and, it is reasonable to believe, the latest, of all Persian *Tazkirahs*.

and comparing dates and circumstances, and on an attentive comparison of several notices in the Suhufi Ibrahim with those of the Atesh Kedah, I am induced, decidedly to give the preference to the former.

“The judicial habits of the Nawwab must have been favourable to his critical discrimination, which his intimacy with Europeans must also have tended to improve. The peace and tranquillity which have prevailed in the provinces during the ascendancy of the British power favoured the formation of extensive libraries in the cities of Lucknow, Patna, and Benares, to all of which, besides his own extensive collections, the Nawwab had, of course, access.”

I will not follow Mr. Elliott in the inquiry into the comparative merits of the Nawwab's work, and of Lutf Ali's Atesh Kedah, as I have neither had time to pursue it to the same extent, nor am I willing to oppose myself to the conclusion which so able and critical a scholar has drawn from the research; although a strong claim of preference may naturally attach to the genuine composition of a native Persian, as Lutf Ali Beg, exercising on its language the pure taste of the country in which he was born, educated, and residing; as compared with the criticism, however well directed and diligently acquired, of a Musulman inhabitant of India, where the whole Mahometan literature, as that of the Turks, is but an adaptation of the Persian, and their poetry, transplanted from its proper clime, and nurtured by the studious care of imitative genius, blooms rather with the luxuriant wantonness of exotic cultivation, than with the graceful symmetry of native growth which shades the pilgrimed tombs of Sadi and of Hafiz at Shiraz, and sheds undying fragrance over the grave of Nizami at Ganjah, or the resting-place of Firdusi in his paradise of Tus¹.

Passing, therefore, over these and similarly interesting passages in Mr. Elliott's letter, as belonging more to the critical department of poetic literature than to the history of its authors, I will rather mention a few remarks with which he favoured me in connexion

¹ I must not be supposed to undervalue the merits of the Nawwab's Tazkirah, and still less the great obligation I am under for the use of it, by thus advocating the claims of the original literature of Persia; we owe very much to the zeal and labour of learned Mahometan Indians in commenting and editing some of its most valuable productions; and as a comprehensive work of vast range and extent, both for its judicious compilation from numerous authorities, and labour of learned criticism, as well as from the paramount advantage its author possesses, in being the most modern writer on the subject, Ibrahim Khalil's Suhuf is justly entitled to preference over all others, as the ground-work of Persian Poetical Biography in an European arrangement.

with Lutf Ali's own work, to which subject, indeed, I am entirely indebted for the valuable communication I have so often quoted.

In the first place, Mr. Elliott informed me, that the *Atesh Kedah* had been lithographed in a quarto volume of 621 pages, printed at Calcutta in the year 1249, H¹.

Also that he is himself the possessor of a beautiful manuscript of the same work, written at Shiraz and Teheran. (He does not mention the date.)

Lastly, that the Nawwab's work, the *Suhuf*, gives the biography of Lutf Ali, in which, after stating that he was of the tribe of Shamlu, and related to Wali Muhammad Khan Mesrúr, he observes, that in the year 1190, he was informed by Sayyid Muhammad Ali (Nálih Takhallus), that the Hajji was then residing in Isfahan, where he was highly respected, and esteemed one of the first poets of the age. Further, the Nawwab had heard that the Hajji had compiled a *Tazkirah*, but had never seen it, nor any more of his poetry than the few verses which he quotes as specimens².

I am happy to find this record, by a native writer, of the advanced period at which Lutf Ali was still living, tend to confirm the date I had assumed on a previous consideration of his work.

I have also to observe, that the single accession of Mr. Elliott's copy of the *Atesh Kedah*, to the number already known to us, proves its rarity and consequent value had not been much overrated, the three years following my inquiry having disclosed only this one additional manuscript.

The *Khulásat ul Kelám*, or rather the volume of it, contained in our library³, and the only copy I have been able to consult, is a very

¹ A copy has been since received from India by M. Garcin de Tassy, who, with his usual kindness, and in anticipation of my wishes, has obliged me with the use of it.

² Lutf Ali Beg appears as a poet also in Abu Talib's *Tazkirah*, where, in the supplement, two couplets of a Ghazal are attached to his name as Azar, but unaccompanied by a single line of memoir. His contemporary Wálih, in his *Tazkirah* supplies a short notice of Azar, Lutf Ali Beg, in which after stating his relationship to Wali Muhammad Khan (already known), he mentions Azar's extraordinary poetic talent at an early age, being at that time only twenty-five years old, and adds to the particulars of his literary history, that his first Takhallus was *Wálid* (Father), which he afterwards changed for that of *Nukhat* (Perfume), and lastly fixed it as Azar, by which he is usually known. Wálih does not, of course, mention the *Atesh Kedah*, which was commenced after the completion of his own *Tazkirah*.

³ Presented by Sir John Malcolm, May 19, 1827, No. 147 of Mr. Morley's Catalogue. The MS. bears the title *جلد اول تذكرة خلاصة الكلام* &c., to which is added, *درین جلد هشتاد و چهار مثنوی منتخب است*.

large folio of 405 leaves, containing twenty-five lines of prose, or fifty couplets of poetry in a full page. The writing is large and distinct, and its contents perfect. Unfortunately, as already observed, it is only the first volume, comprehending the letters Alif to Sád, the lives being arranged in alphabetical order, to the number of thirty-eight¹. This copy is furnished with an Index of the poets' names, and reference to the page.

From the preface, written in a plain style, and comprised in two pages, the undertaking appears to have been commenced in the sixteenth year of Shah Alam, with the use of numerous authorities which are cited by name, and to have been completed in the twenty-seventh year of that Emperor's reign, of the Hijrah 1198², under the auspices of Governor-General Warren Hastings. The usual topics are discussed, the praise of poetry, the author's love of his subject and early attachment to poetic studies, and the advantages he proposes from his work, of which he names no less than seventeen Tazkirahs as authorities.

The memoirs are mostly brief, occupying seldom more than a single page. The extracts are, therefore, the more full. Their interest and value may be appreciated from a rapid survey, which enables us to judge of the merits of the whole work; if, indeed, the remaining portion was completed according to the author's design, or if it is still extant.

In this volume we have eighteen pages of extract from the very rare poem of Asadi of Tús, Firdusi's contemporary and teacher, called the Gershasp Namah, of which scarcely even mention is made in his life by most other authors; fourteen pages of the Jámi Jem, the mystical poem of Auhadi of Maraghal; thirty-five of the Hamlahi Haidari, an epic by Rafiá Bázil on the heroic actions of the first four Khalifs³; twenty pages of the Muhayti Aázam⁴, and other works of Mirza Bidil, of whom a long memoir is given; fifty-six pages of extract are from Zulali's very scarce Khamsah; twenty-six from various poems of Shefáí⁵, as the *Mihir u Muhabbat*, *Didahi Bidadr*,

¹ About half the number contained in the whole, according to Mr. Elliott's account; the division of the alphabet being also in the same proportion, it would seem that we possess just half the entire work.

² The Nawwab's Hindustani Tazkirah, the Gulzari Ibrahim, was completed the same year:—see M. de Tassy's work.

³ Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo's MSS., No. LXVIII.

محبط اعظم

نمکداران حقیقت — دیدۀ بیدار — مهر و محبت⁵

"Love and Friendship," "The Wakeful Eye," and the "Saltecellar of Divine Truth," Sherfuddin Hasan, Shefáí, of Isfahan died 1037.

and Nemekdáni Hakikat; and from the Cazá u Cadr of Selim¹, all compositions of the greatest rarity. There are considerable extracts from the Nán u Halwa² of Beháí Amulí³; from the Khusru and Shírín of Jelal Jaáfar, one of the scarcest versifications of that favourite romance; from the Zádi Musafirín⁴, or Pilgrim's Wallet, a mystical poem of Husaini; from a very rare Sákí Námeḥ of Ibrahim Adhem, and another by Riza, his father⁵. Shorter specimens, though of great value also, as exhibiting poems otherwise inaccessible to us, introduce us to the Maáráj ul Khayál⁶ of Tejelli, the Tútí Námeḥ of Hamíd of Lahor⁷; Mesnawis of Sábit, Ashuá, Ibrahim of Delhi, Khális, Khájú of Kirmán, Dáái, and the Jósh u Khurósh of Arzu⁸, himself also a biographer of his brother poets. Besides these valuable extracts,—valuable both from their copiousness and from the rare quality of the works they represent, there are passages of equal extent from the more popular poems of the Hadícaḥ, and Bustán; from Ahli's two Mesnawis; from the Tuhfat ul Irákain; those of Ali Hazin and the Khamsahs of Jami and Amir Khusru, which two authors alone furnish, the one 115 and the other 160 pages, equal to between thirteen and fourteen thousand couplets⁹.

It would be vain to attempt an analysis of the contents of the Suhufi Ibrahim. One of the most valuable features of the edition is, in the copy I am using, the facility of reference from the arrangement being in one simple series, in alphabetic, though not strictly in

¹ Muhammad Culi of Teheran, a contemporary of Lutf Ali Beg Azar.

² نان و حلوا Major Stewart's Catalogue, No. LXXIV., called there the "Loaf and the Cake."

³ بهای عاملی Shaikh Behá uddín Muhammad of Amul in Khorasan, died at Isfahan 1030.

⁴ زك مسافرين Also in Tippoo's Library, No. LXXIV. Sayyid Maulana Husaini Sádát, called Husaini. Hammer's Redekünste, &c. No. LXXII.

⁵ رضای ارتمانى A poet of the time of Shah Abbas.

⁶ معراج الخيال Mulla Ali Rizáí Tejelli was of Yezd, and died 1088.

⁷ حميد لهورى—ثابت—اشنا—ابرهيم خليفه دهلوى—خالص

—خواجوى کرمانى—داعى

⁸ جوش و خروش Sirajuddin Ali Khan Arzu is author of the Tazkirah called Majmá ul Nefáis, of which mention will be made later.

⁹ In the manuscript title to this copy, the volume is said to contain eighty-four Mesnawis in all.

lexicographic order¹, and the memoirs being numbered under each letter to correspond with an index at the commencement of the volume; thus sparing a translator one of the most troublesome operations necessary before making use of most manuscript collections of memoir.

The preface affords few particulars in addition to those already obtained. It alludes to the professional duties which had long postponed the completion of the author's early and favourite project, the composition of a *Tazkirah*, for which he had qualified himself by long study and by the collection of vast materials, seventy-two volumes being at hand during the time in which he was engaged in it². He states his plan of dividing his work into two parts, already named, and in the arrangement of extracts, proposes to class them according to the *Radif*. This preface fills only four pages, and concludes with a *Tarikh* contained in four lines, of which the last gives the date, 1205.

چو تاریخ اتمام جستم زهاتف³
 بگفتا بگو نفع بخش زمانه

The author allows himself no place among the poets of his collection, as practised by many of his predecessors, nor does his preface enter into details of his private history or of his family. The date of his death is fixed by M. de Tassy⁴, 1793 or 1794 of the Christian era, corresponding with 1208 of the *Hijrah*.

¹ The author has however, as he states in his preface, taken pains to place together poets with the same, or similar names, so as in some degree to assist still further those who consult his work.

² At least twenty *Tazkirahs* are quoted by name in various parts of his work, and lives of thirteen of their authors are found among the memoirs.

³ This *Tarikh* would appear, therefore, to be the production of Ahmed Hâtif of Isfahan, one of the most distinguished of the very modern poets of Persia. His memoir in the *Suhuf* relates his intimacy with its author, and he appears in Lutf Ali's work, of whom also he was the contemporary and friend, to have been distinguished for his skill in Chronogram.

⁴ From a verse of the Indian poet Jurât; vide *Life of Nawwab Ali, Ibrahim*, "Hist. de la Litt. Hindoui," &c. The memoir of Jurât in the *Suhuf* is thus given.

جرات دهلوی نامش قلندر بخش ولد حافظ امان دهلویست
 نظم ریخته را که مخلوط بزبان هندی و فارسی است نیکو
 میگوید و بموزونی طبع گاهی دو مصرع فارسی بهم پیوند و راقم
 اعم احوالش در تذکره ریخته نوشته است

The *Suhuf* frequently alludes to its twin brother, the *Tazkirah* *Rekhtah*, by which name the *Gulzâri Ibrahim* is always designated in that work.

The preceding sketches illustrate all the hitherto undescribed works on biography, which I am at present able to quote from actual inspection. It remains to notice briefly those others, which seem less accessible, naming them as nearly in chronological order as our scanty data will allow, and concluding with such as cannot yet be classed, or are almost of doubtful existence.

Even in its present incomplete state we have now a series of authorities of great importance, and the eighteen Tazkirahs already described, including those which have been made known by other contributions, form a code of Biographical Law, from the earliest antiquity of the poetic art in Persia to the present time. Of these, Al Aufi, Muhammad, is the founder of the faith, and is followed by the four authorities, Al Ráshidín, universally acknowledged and esteemed; unless, perhaps, Ali Shír (Ali the Lion) may, like the hero and guardian of the Shíahs, hold with some a disputed rank, and the Mejális ul Nefáís be considered rather a Turki, than a Persian biography. The authors of the twelve other Tazkirahs now known to us (Nos. II. to XII., including the Atesh Kedah), equalling in number and authority the spiritual Pontiffs of Islamism, may be called the twelve Imams or directors of our poetic creed; Ibrahim Khalíl being the Mehdi, whose second self, the lost portion of his Suhuf, we may hope is only slumbering in the gloom of some uncatalogued Kutubkhaneh, to which it has mysteriously disappeared, and from whence we are yet to expect its radiant re-appearance.

میخانه و بتخانه

The Maikhaneh u Butkhaneh of Mulla Súfi appears to possess a higher claim to antiquity than any of the other works now first described, reference being made to it in Tahir's preface, where it is placed in the list of his authorities, apparently arranged in chronological order, as taking precedence even of the Tazkirah of Taki Káshi. The exact date of its composition is not mentioned, but it occupies the period between Taki's work and that of Sam Mirza. I find no other reference to the Maikhaneh, as an authority, and the only life of the author I have as yet met with, is in the Suhuf, in which "Maulana Muhammad Súfi" is stated to have been a native of Mazenderan, and in the year 1038 to have been a resident of Ahmedabad in Gujerat, and afterwards, for some time, of Kashmir; to have been a distinguished follower of Sufyism, and to have arranged a collection of poetry, principally from the Diwans of ancient writers. By desire of the Emperor Jehangir he came from Kashmir, but arriv-

ing at Serhind, died there. The memoir adds, that, although biographers have classed him under the letter M, yet he used both his names, Muhammad, and Súfi, as a Takhallus.

مجمع الفضل

The work of Mulla Bacáí, بقایى, which comprises from the time of the commencement of poetry till the reign of Akber Shah¹. (Preface to Khazaneh).

In the Suhuf we have the life of Mir Bacáí of Tafrash, whose name was Abúl Bacá, and who was contemporary with Shah Abbas, and is said to have written a Tazkirat ul Shuara in an elegant style, containing the poets of the reign of the Emperor Akber Shah, but which had not been seen by his biographer.

کعبهٔ عرفان — فردوس خیال

The Kaábahí Irfán, and Firdúsi Khayál, both by Auhadi, have already been noticed in the account of his larger work, of which the one was the precursor, and the other, an abridgment.

خوشگو

Khúshgú is quoted in the Suhuf, and in Sir Goro Onseley's "Notices of Thirty-one Persian Poets," Bindraban Khushgu's work is referred to from Sir Gore's own inspection. The author is there said to have been intimately acquainted with the Indian poet Faizi, and must therefore have flourished in the reign of the Emperor Akber. The quotations refer to his work as being a Biography, as well as Anthology.

مآثر رحیمی

Quoted in the preface to the Khulasat ul Kelam as one of its authorities.

In Major Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library, No. XXXV., is a copy of the "Muásiri Rehimy (مآثر رحیمی), Memoirs of Abdal Rehím Khan Khanan², Vizier, and of all the illustrious nobles, authors, and poets who resided at the court of Akber. Author, Abd al Baký, A.D. 1613." It is questionable, from this description, whether the work can be considered strictly a Tazkirat ul Shuara.

¹ Akber Shah reigned from 967 to 1014. Shah Abbas began to reign 994.

² Rahím was also his Takhallus. A memoir of this distinguished nobleman, who was himself a poet, as well as being celebrated as a patron of poets, is found in the Suhuf. He was born A.D. 964, and died at the age of eighty-two.

The Suhuf, in the life of Shaikh Faizi, quotes the Múasiri Rahimí¹, and calls its author Faizi's contemporary.

تذکرہ^۲ ناظم تبریزی

The Tazkirah of Názim of Tabríz, mentioned in the preface to the Khazanah, has also been used in the compilation of the Khulasat ul Kelam, the author of which, in his other work, the Suhuf, gives the following notice of Názim, as a biographer and a poet.

“Muhammad Sádíc, Tabrízi, whose poetic name is Názim, and who was brother to Muhammad Rízá Beg, Merwárid Ferósh, fixed his residence in Abbasabad, in Isfahan. He was distinguished by praiseworthy qualities and agreeable manners, and was quite free from all worldly attachments. He kept company chiefly with the godly and pious, and from poverty and affliction mixed little in the society of men. After performing the pilgrimage to the Holy Kaabah, he came in the year 1037, to India, where he met with Taki Auhadi, the Biographer. He is author of a Mesnawi, called Fírúz u Sháhábáz (فیروز و شاهباز) and wrote much poetry besides. One of his works is a Biography of Poets, which he arranged by the desire of Shah Abbas, and in which he has only inserted Ghazals and Rubá'ís. The memoirs are in an abridged form, but he has shown much judgment in his selection of specimens.” His life is also given by Mirza Táhir, who says, he composed “an abridged Tazkirah,” and died a few years previous to the time at which he was writing.

تذكرة الشعراء لباباشاه

The above title is given by Hajji Khalfa, among Persian works on this subject, and is copied from him by D'Herbelot, but no reference is made to it by any other oriental author. Hajji Khalfa wrote his Encyclopædia, A.D. 1062, but beyond this vague indication, I have no means of fixing the date of Babashah's Tazkirah².

The Suhuf names a poet Baba Shah of Isfahan, of the time of Abbas II. This would be too late for Hajji Khalfa's notice.

¹ معاصر رحیمی but as it is written ماثری in the Nawwab's other Tazkirah, and, I think, elsewhere in the Suhuf, it may here be a mistake, in repetition of the word معاصر “contemporary.”

صاحب معاصر رحیمی که معاصر اوست

² It also stands in the list of Tazkirahs of Poets, page 96 of the Parnasse Oriental; probably inserted on the authority mentioned above.

The Suhuf also gives a memoir of "Maulána Sháh Shubli, a contemporary of Taki Auhadi, a poet well skilled in versification, who composed a Mesnawi in the measure of the Tuhfat ul Irákain (of Khacáni), and arranged also a Tazkirat ul Shuâra." Possibly this author is the Bába Sháh of Hajji Khalfa, already mentioned? The early date, as being in Auhadi's time, would make it probable, and the titles of Bába or Maulána, common to Derwishes and holy men, might well be applied indifferently to one and the same person.

لطائف الخيال

The Latáíf ul Khayál, is quoted in the Suhuf, by its full name, and also as the Latáíf. There is a copy of it in the collection of Professor Duncan Forbes. The work is described in Major Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo's Library to have been "commenced by Mirza Muhammad Sálah, A.D. 1731; and finished by Jáfer Nasíry in 1742; and to contain memoirs of the authors, as well as specimens of their poetry." It is, however, merely an Anthology.

Professor Forbes's manuscript is a very thick octavo volume, in which the preface is entirely devoted to the description of the author's arrangement of his extracts, without giving any further information than the title of the work, Latáíf ul Khayál, and that he made an abridgment of it, called the Khulásahi Latáíf ul Khayál. In a Casidah, however, which follows the preface, and contains the praise of his performance, he calls himself Muhammad Sálíh¹, and the last line forms a Tarikh of its completion², 1104. The selection is from numerous authors, but unaccompanied by any memoir. The arrangement is alphabetical, according to the final letter, in the manner of a classed Diwan, and each specimen is merely headed with the poet's name.

كلمات الشعراء

The only work which distinctly quotes this Tazkirah is the Khazanahi Aamirah in its very full and interesting catalogue of authorities. "Kelimát ul Shuâra by Serkhúsh, which same name forms the Tarikh of its commencement³. The date of its completion was 1122, according to the year stated in figures at the end of the

سعى بنمود مینرا صالح¹

جمع فرمود مینرا صالح

شد گل انتخاب تاریخش²

³ The letters of the title give 1093.

book." All the other information to be obtained, is in the memoirs of the author given in the biographical part of the same work, in the *Macalat*, the *Suhuf*, and by Abu Talib. Of these, as in most other cases, that in the *Suhuf* is the best. "Serkhúsh Hindi, whose name was Muhammad Afzal (son of Muhammad Záhid) was attached to the court of Abdallah Khan Rahmi. He was born in Kashmír, in the reign of Shah Jehan 1050; was educated by Hakkák Shirazi, and Muhammad Ali Máhir, and was recognized by Mirza Muizz Fítrat and his contemporaries, as one of the standard poets of the time. In the reign of the Emperor Alamgir he settled in Delhi, and in the reign of Farrukhsír died, at the age of seventy-six, A.H. 1127. (Abu Talib makes his death 1126.) He wrote a compendious *Tazkirah* on the lives of the poets of the time of Shah Jehan and Alamgir, and called it *Kelimat ul Shuara*. Khushgu, who was a pupil of his, writes in his own *Tazkirah*, that the entire works of Serkhúsh, 'comprising the *Mesnawi* called *Núri Ali* (The Light of Ali), and another named *Husn u Ishc* (Beauty and Love), with a *Sáki Namah*, and a *Shah Namahi* Muhammad Aázam Shah, amount to near forty thousand couplets, but that they are not in general circulation. Serkhúsh was a companion of Shaikh Násir Ali and Mirza Bédil." Abu Talib calls him Muhammad Afzal Ali Serkhúsh, and says his *Tazkirah* was highly esteemed.

The *Khazaneh* gives a similar biography, and praises both his poetry and his *Tazkirah*, from which it quotes an anecdote of Saidi, (صیدی) a poet of Teheran, a friend and companion of Serkhúsh, which introduces a Quatrain of his composition, followed by another specimen translated from a Hindi couplet, of which the original is given, as well as the Persian version.

فیشہ بہار

Perpetual Spring. "The work of *Ikhlas* (اخلاص) of Sháh-jehanábád, of which the title is the *Tarikh* of its composition, and from it is obtained the year 1136¹." Preface to the *Khazaneh*.

The life of *Ikhlas* is given in the *Suhuf*, thus; "Ikhlas of Dehli, his name Kishnehand, son of Achal Dás Kahni², and pupil of Abdul Ghanni Beg Cabúl (قبول). He composed a very brief Biography of Poets, called *Hemíshch Behar*, which the author of the present work

¹ The value of the letters must be doubled for this date.

² کشنچند ولد اچل داس کھنی

has seen. He passed from this perishable resting-place in the reign of Ahmad Sháh son of Muhammad Sháh¹." The Suhuf quotes the Hemisheh Behar in several places.

حيات الشعراء

"The work of Muhammad Ali Khán Matín (متین) of Kashmír, who wrote the lives of the poets from the glorious reign of Bahádúr Shah² till the peaceful reign of Muhammad Shah³." Preface to Khazanah.

I do not find the life of the author in any Tazkirah. The Suhuf has a "Shaikh Abdul Rizá Matín," born at Isfahan, who settled in Delhi at the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, but they can hardly be identified.

ید بیضا — سرو آزاد

The Yadi Bayza, and Servi Azád⁴, are both by the author of the Khazanahi Aamirah, and are mentioned in the preface to that Tazkirah.

"Yadi Bayza, by the author of the present work, on the lives of the ancient and modern poets. I composed the beginning of this book in Sívistán in Sind, and it obtained extensive circulation. After my return from Sind to Hind, having destroyed that copy, I wrote another in the year 1148, and arranged this hemistich as its Tarikh طبع کلیم نمود ید بیضا. Many of the sources from which it was compiled, being now no longer available, viz.; the Nefáís ul Maásir, the Subhi Sádie, the Tazkirah of Názim of Tabriz, that of Mulla Cátái, and others, I have transferred a great part of the old materials into the Khazanahi Aamirah."

Of the Servi Azad, its author in the Khazanah merely gives the date of the composition, 1166. It was used by Ibrahim Khalil, and is referred to in his preface to the Suhuf.

¹ Ahmad Shah reigned A.H. 1160 to 1167.

² Bahadur Shah began to reign A.H. 1119.

³ Muhammad Shah began to reign A.H. 1130.

⁴ The Yadi Bayza is an allusion to the "White Hand" of Moses. Servi Azád, an image of frequent use among the Persian poets, plays on the name of the author, Ghulámi Alf Azád.

⁵ These letters give the number 1108 only; possibly it should be نمود, by which the additional 40 would be obtained.

نفايس المآثر — صبح صادق — تذكره ملا قاطعى

These three works, from which it has just been stated that the author of the *Yadi Bayza* derived some of his materials, are not named elsewhere. The *Suhuf* quotes, in one place, the *Nefā'is ul Asr*. (نفايس الاثر) The *Subhi Sādic* is the name given in Persia to the true dawn, in distinction from the first, or early appearance of light, which they call *Subhi Kāzib*¹, and the allusion here is perhaps to the author's name, or poetical name, being *Sādic*², though I cannot obtain any information from memoirs of the many poets so called³. Neither does *Cātāi* occur as a *Takhallus* in these *Tazkirahs*. We have no means of judging by how much these works were anterior to the author who quotes them, but we have already seen that they were no longer extant in the latter part of his life. They may, therefore, be supposed to have been of very early date.

سفیناء بیخبر

"The work of Azamat Ullah Bikhābar of Balgrām, which was composed in the year 1141." Preface to the *Khazanah*.

The *Suhuf* gives the life of "Bikhābar Balgrāmi, son of that learned mystic, Mir Lutf Allah, whose *Takhallus* was *Ahmadi*; his family was of the Husaini Sayyids of Wāsīt, who settled at Balgrām." The memoir further states him to have been an accomplished Sufi, skilled in music, and in the art of writing *Shikasteh*, and much esteemed among the poets of his time. He is stated to have died A.H. 1142. The author of the *Suhuf* mentions having seen the *Diwan* of Bikhābar, but does not name any biographical work by him. The life of his father, *Ahmadi*, is also given in its proper place, and his death placed in the year 1041, which date can hardly be reconciled with the period at which his son lived. In the same work is to be found Bikhābar's son, Mir Nawāzish Ali Fakīr, died 1167.

¹ صبح کاذب See Waring's "Tour to Sheeraz," page 107.

² Nāzīm of Tabriz was called *Sādic*; perhaps his *Tazkirah*, to which no special name is given by the *Suhuf* or *Khazanah*, may be the *Subhi Sādic*?

³ I have since noticed in Sir W. Ouseley's "Catalogue," &c., the "*Subh Sadek*," described as a *Tarikh*, or History of Kings, and celebrated and learned men, by "Mahammed Sadek Isfahani." This is probably the same work.

⁴ I am not aware of the exact title of the work. It is so called in the only authority which mentions it; but the word *Sefinah* may also here be used only in its comprehensive and very usual sense of *book*.

مجمع النفايس

I have not at present access to a copy of this work, but it is contained in the library of the late Sir Goro Ouseley, and is described by that lamented and distinguished orientalist in his "Notices of Thirty-one Persian Poets," shortly to be published by the Oriental Translation Fund, to whose Committee it has descended as a mournful bequest from their amiable and accomplished chairman. Having been favoured by a perusal of the sheets while in the press, I have made use of it for some additional particulars to a few of the subjects of the latter part of this sketch.

Besides the notice in Sir Gore's work, and a very full biography by M. de Tassy, (*Littérature Hindoui, &c.*) in which his Persian Tazkirah is mentioned, memoirs of Sirajuddin Ali Khan Arzu are given in both the works of the Nawwab Ibrahim, in the *Macalat ul Shuara*, in the *Atesh Kedah*, and by Abu Talib. No additions of any importance are to be derived from these, to the researches of the two Orientalists named above. A very long list of Arzu's compositions, poetical and otherwise, is given in the *Suhuf*; the last of these is his biographical work, but without any critical observation on its merits. Among the celebrated poets of his time with whom Sirajuddin associated, Mirza Bîdil and Mir Ghulâmi Ali Absani are especially mentioned. The *Khazanah Aâmirah*, in naming the *Mejma ul Nefâis* as an authority, says, it was compiled chiefly from the Tazkirah of Mirza Tahir Nasrabadi, and that of Taki Auhadi of Isfahan.

مردم ديدة

"*Merdumi Dîdah*", by Shah Abdul Hakîm, Governor of Lahôr, who compiled it in 1175 at Aurangabad, and inserted in it whatever poetry he had seen." (Preface to the *Khazaneh*, in whose list of authorities it is the last, and latest in date.)

I find no other notice of it, nor can I meet with a memoir of the life of any Abdul Hakîm of Lahôr.

تذكرة بېنظير

"The work of Mir Abdul Wahhâb of Daulatâbâd, which put on

¹ "The Apple of the Eye." It is difficult, except from the explanation of the authors themselves, where we have the advantage of it, to guess the application of the titles they give their works. Where they do not contain the author's name, or an allusion to his patron, they are frequently put together merely with a view of forming a chronogram, which, however, in the present instance, cannot be the object.

the musky garb of composition in the year 1178. and of which the name forms the date." (Khazaneh, which is the only work that mentions it.) No poet whose Takhallus is Bínazir¹, has a work of this kind ascribed to him.

گل رعنا

Guli Râna, "The Beautiful Rose," is named by Ibrahim Khalil, in the Preface to his *Khulasat ul Kelam*, as one of his authorities, and is also frequently cited in the *Suhuf*². It is described by Mr. Erskine, in the *Bombay Transactions*³, as "the work of Latchmi Naryân, who flourished at Hyderabad at the end of the XVIIIth or beginning of the XIXth century;" and from an extract given, is shown to contain biography as well as extracts.

بیاض باطنی

The Bayâzi Bâtini is quoted in the *Suhuf* only, and without any information as to the author, though I should suppose him to have been called Bâtin or Bâtinî⁴, and to be so alluded to in the title of his book. It may be simply a Bayaz, or Album of Selections.

مخزن الغرایب

My only acquaintance with this *Tazkirah*, which is not quoted by any native author, is from the following account of it given me by Mr. Elliott, in whose possession, I presume, there is a copy.

"The *Tazkirah* named *Makhzan ul Gharâib*, compiled at Delhi by Shaikh Ahmed Ali Khan, and consisting of 1012 folio pages, appears to be a most valuable compilation, and the author, in his preface, professes to have consulted the principal *Tazkirahs*. It clearly contains a much larger body of poetry than the *Atesh Kedah*, and probably many specimens of the Persian poets, not elsewhere to be met with."

(*Majmûâhi Shuârâi Tazkirah Mânand*⁵, "Collection de Poëtes semblables au Mémorial.")

A work is described by M. Charmoy (*Expédition d'Alexandre le*

¹ بینظیر "Incomparable;" therefore, perhaps, the "Incomparable Biography," or the "Biography of Bínazir." So *Tuhfahi Sami*, "The Royal or Sublime Present," as well as the "Present of Sâm (Mirza)."

² Also in Sir Gore Ouseley's "Notices," &c.

³ Vol. II., page 374.

⁴ Bâtini appears, as the name of a poet of Balkh; but his biographer, Ibrahim, had no means of giving any account of his works.

⁵ مجموعهء شعراء تذکرة مانند The MS. described was in the collection of Ardebil.

Grand, page 78), as containing very copious extracts from the compositions of thirty-eight poets, with brief memoirs closely following those of Daulatshah, and some even copied literally from his Tazkirah. I have, therefore, not included it in the list given, page 111, being uncertain whether to consider it as an original, and, consequently, distinct work.

To the above list may, perhaps, be added, a Tazkirat ul Shuara of Muhammad Bakhtáwar Khán, quoted by Lieut. Newbold, in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science¹. In the same article, "Mahmúd Bacá," is stated to have "assisted Muhammad Bakhtáwar Khán in the compilation of his Shigurf Namch;" which was probably the title of the Biography, "and to have died in Sharpenúr, A.H., 1094." In the life of Firdusi, in the same series of notices, a work called *Sham-i Guribán* is named; apparently also a Tazkirah of Poets. I am ignorant of the precise nature of these two works, and know of no other reference to them. The Khazaneh refers also, in Azad's life, to a work called the Maásir ul Kirán², but without distinguishing it either as a poetical biography or as mere historical memoirs.

Ghafúrí (Ghéfourí) is named in the Parnasse Oriental of M. Rousseau, in the list given, p. 96, of Persian Biographers. His life appears also among the poets in that work. "Ghéfourí (Ahmed) né á Cazwin. On lui doit une Anthologie Persane avec de courtes notices sur les poètes, dont elle renferme les productions choisies." This is, no doubt, the Cází Ahmed Abdul Ghaffár, called also Ghaffári, of Cazwin, author of the historical Nigaristan, to which, I am inclined to think, the Parnasse alludes, as it contains, perhaps, a greater number of poetical quotations with the names of the poets prefixed, than most other prose compositions; or possibly to Ghaffári's other historical work, the Jehan Ará, to which some biographical references are made in Sir Gore Ouseley's Notices. The memoir of Ahmed Ghaffári of Cazwin is found in many authors, but no allusion whatever to any Tazkirah of his on the lives of the poets. The name of *Ghafúrí* does not occur either as a poet or biographer, as far as I have yet made inquiry.

¹ "Brief Notices of some of the Persian Poets." 1836. It is, however, more probably the Mirát ul Aalam, or Tárikh of Bakhtáwar Khán, also found in Sir W. Ouseley's Catalogue, and said to contain, besides general history, an account of poets in alphabetical order. No. 371 of the same Catalogue, a Tazkirat ul Shu'arai Jhangírsháhi, it is doubtful whether to assign to Persian or Indian biography.

² مآثر القرائ

It may be curious, perhaps, to examine the references made to this class of Oriental literature by European writers; the number will be found, till lately, very circumscribed.

D'Herbelot, whose source of bibliography was Hajji Khalfa's work, quotes direct from him the well-known names of Daulatshah, Sam Mirza, and Ali Shir, with Baba Shah and Al Haufi.

Major Macan, in his preface to the *Shah Namah*, mentions "Dowletshah, Ali Koolee Khan (*i. e.* Wálih Daghistáni), Lootif Alee Khan, author of the *Atush Kudda*, and Sheer Khan Lodee."

Mr. Scott Waring, in the portion of his agreeable "Narrative of a Tour to Sheeraz," devoted to the literature of the country, says "the only two of their biographical works I have ever heard of, are the *Lives of the Poets* by Doulut Shah, and the *Atush Kudu*."

M. de Sacy, to whom we are indebted for a detailed analysis of Daulatshah's work, and of that of Sâm, says "*Nous connaissons plusieurs ouvrages qui portent le titre de Tezkiret al Schoara*," &c.; but, unfortunately, has not left us information of their titles or author.

Von Hammer, as the biographical ground-work of his *History of Persian Literature*, had used the *Tazkirahs* of Daulatshah and Sâm, and the *Beharistan*, which, with the *Atesh Kodal*, he styled "the four pedestals on which the dome of Persian poetic literature and literary history reposes¹."

The whole number of works on this subject, as quoted by European Orientalists, amounts but to nine or ten at most². The list furnished in the first page of these sketches presents a series of names, of which, after allowing for some few of doubtful existence, and rejecting those which, like the *Latáif ul Khayál*, may be rather anthologies than memoirs, or which, as abridgements of larger works, or for other reasons, have a disputed claim, the number will, with such additions as suggested themselves later, fall little short of *forty* works, partially or

¹ Von diesen vier Grund- und Ehrensäulen, auf denen der Dom persischer Dichterbiographik und Anthologik ruht.—Schöne Redekünste Persiens, Vorrede. Why should not our continued and increasing communication with the East, and our improved knowledge of its literary treasures, which in the last thirty years have multiplied our sources of poetical biography from four to forty, in the same progression, still more than double the present number, till the Valhalla of the Persian Poets shall be like Thebes, *εκατομυλος*, or hundred-gated, a biographical صد در?

² Sir Gore Ouseley's "Notices," already mentioned, refers also to Nos. III., IV., V., VI., and X. of those now described, and it is probable that his library may contain several others, which might, had I availed myself of the opportunity, have furnished a more complete account of those which are enumerated in the latter part of this sketch.

wholly accessible to research, their subject being now known, and their existence at some period or other of literary history being proved certain.

Upon these *forty* columns, then, reposes the vast dome of Persian poetic literature. Less durable perhaps, and of less gigantic proportions, than the Cyclopean masses which exalt the stately temple of her sister science (History), the fane of Persian Poetry presents a fairy fabric, whose graceful, though fantastic architecture offers no less interest in exploring its ruins, and decyphering its secrets, than the perennial monuments of massive rock, on which History has engraved her archives. Let us hope that while the learned and laborious efforts of Eastern travel give light and life to the long mysterious and undecyphered characters of Persepolitan antiquity, pilgrims in the less rugged path of poetic literature may not be wanting, to restore, column after column, this Chihelminar of Persian Biography; which, although its outline is as yet but faintly sketched, we need not still despair of seeing restored in all its beauty of detail.
